

*History
Will Judge
the Hangmen*

1979



History Will Judge the Hangmen

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Editor's Note

This book carries some materials offered by personages of various circles in south Korea and overseas compatriots exposing the tortures they had suffered in the hands of the Pak Jung Hi fascist clique.

The sufferers tell their own experiences fully laying bare the Pak Jung Hi hordes as devilish homicides.

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TORTURE AND MURDER UNDER THE PAK REGIME

—Torture of Opposition National Assemblymen Exposed by 12 Victims—

This is an account of the torture inflicted upon 12 Opposition National Assemblymen by the Pak Jung Hi puppet clique. It was given by the victims themselves in their interview with foreign and home journalists on February 28, 1975, and was carried by the south Korean daily Tonga Ilbo dated September 28, 1975.

Cho Yun Hyong remarks: The CIC agents stripped me bare and thrashed me all over, not allowing me to sleep for 72 hours.

Around October 29, 1972 I was hauled off to the countercommunist investigation section of the CIC situated at Sobinggo of Seoul and beaten all over the body for three days with the square timber of a US field army bed.

On my arrival there the CIC agents came and stripped me naked in the interrogation room. Before starting to beat me all over, they blurted threateningly: "You are a National Assemblyman, but we can torture you to death. We'll report that you have died of illness. That's all." A gang of three agents did not allow me to sleep, taking turns of eight-hour shift,

and interrogated me for two hours clubbing me all over. The torture was aimed to get the false confession that I had taken a bribe and to break my spirit of resistance against the Revitalization Constitution.

Hong Yong Gi remarks: I was hauled off at the airport on my way home from an official trip and underwent 8-9-day interrogation under detention.

I went to Pusan on an official trip around November 26, 1972 and on my way home I was walked off to the CIC from the Kimpo airport. There I was detained for 8-9 days for interrogation. Its content was similar to that of the interrogation conducted to three National Assemblymen, Cho Yon Ha, Cho Yun Hyong and Kim Sang Hyon.

Li Jong Nam remarks: At the military police station I was stripped naked and beaten up. When I swooned they poured water over me and resumed thrashing.

Around 11:30 p.m., October 21, 1972 Major Choe and five other MPs broke into my house and searched it. Then they walked me off to the Quonset hut of the MP company in charge of the sixth district in Yongdungpo where we arrived towards twelve o'clock. They asked for two army surgeons by phone and got a long club, cord, towel and bucket ready. The two army surgeons came in soon and six MPs surrounded me and ordered me to put off my clothes even without interrogation. As I asked why, they bellowed, brandishing their fists: "No need to explain

everything to the rascal of your kind. At the National Assembly you dared to raise a racket about our using torture. Now you shall taste what torture is like. And you also dared to claim the dissolution of the KCIA. You shall clearly see what it does, too. We can kill one or two likes of you and bury your body in a mountain before reporting to our higher-ups that you've committed suicide. We'll never let you return home alive. We'll torment you as much as we like before finishing you off."

Stripping me of my clothes by violence, they threw me down on the concrete floor and beat me. When I swooned they poured water over me. When I came to, they beat me again, wrapping me in a wet blanket. They wrapped my wrists with a towel, tied them together with a cord, forced me to crouch, thrust a long club between my arms, lifted me onto a table, and then poured water into my mouth. A surgeon was examining me when I came to. A whipping came down on me soon and I swooned again. The chill of pouring water made me come around, and I found the surgeon injecting Ringer's solution.

I underwent the same torture on the nights of the 22nd and 23rd.

On the 24th I was tortured twice as I refused to mention the source of information I had referred to in my speech at the National Assembly session.

On the 25th and 26th I was pressed to make a false confession that I had taken a bribe amounting to 30 million *won*.

On the 27th and 28th I was forced to make a written evidence as was told to.

Around 9:30 p.m., on the 29th I returned home. On November 1 I went to the Severance Hospital and received medical treatment there till I was put into a "detainee ward" on January 5, 1973.

I received treatment in the hospital from January 29 to December 21, 1974, but I am still suffering from gastrointestinal troubles, high blood pressure, loose bowels, swelling and others.

Cho Yon Ha remarks: They humiliated and beat me and kept me awake. They also intimidated me with the display of torture facilities.

I suffered torture from October 19 to 26, 1972.

They made me suffer from a disease, insulted and beat me, kept me awake, and intimidated me with the show of torture facilities in the underground chamber. They pressed me mainly with these questions:

- (a) *Where has Kim Dae Jung got the political funds?*
- (b) *Why did you support Kim Dae Jung at the New Democratic Party's meeting for nomination of the presidential candidate?*
- (c) *Why did you run for chairman of the provincial branch of the New Democratic Party when you were told not to?*

Kim Rok Yong remarks: Hanging me upside down, they poured water into my mouth to let me swoon. Unable to endure humiliation and torture, I even attempted to kill myself.

On October 26 right after the "October 17 incident" (establishment of the revitalized system) in 1972 I was forcibly taken to a certain office and in-

terrogated for a week till November 2. I was put to the brutal torture defying imagination. Following is a brief account of it.

I was in poor health. So I was recruiting myself at my villa in the backwoods of Chongpyong Sub-county, Kapyong County, Kyonggi Province. But about two o'clock in the afternoon, October 26, 1972, I was hauled off by three men from the Martial Law Enforcement Headquarters.

(1) I was told that the car bearing me was heading for the office of the head of the public security maintenance section, Martial Law Enforcement Headquarters. But, it took the road leading to Yongdungpo and unexpectedly pulled up in front of the district office. There I was transferred to another car in waiting and put in charge of another gang of three men.

(2) The place of arrival was the Quonset hut of a certain army unit in Yongdungpo.

(3) No sooner had I entered there than they slapped me in the face, saying, "This guy is Kim Rok Yong?" They got cord, towel, club and teakettle ready before interrogation.

(4) They ordered me to become naked, but I refused. Then three men pounced on me and unclothed me by violence. They hung me upside down, with my hands and legs bound together, covered my face with a towel and poured water over my face, which made me nearly lose my breath. Clubbing my limbs at random, they forced false confession upon me.

(5) Whenever I went faint in torture, they threw me upon the concrete floor. A doctor was called in

to measure my blood pressure and give me an injection which brought me to my senses. In this way they tortured me without letup for 4-5 days.

They interrogated me on the following points:

(a) The annual allowance for the Assemblyman will hardly make up your living expenses. Where do you get graft?

(b) How many concessions have you obtained by abusing your authority as an Assemblyman?

(c) Tell the names of your friends and the organization of your constituency.

(d) Locate only two places from where you have drawn more than half a million won each.

(e) You shall be released if you tell Kim Dae Jung's organization and his financial source.

Suffering such intolerable humiliation and torture, I once even attempted at suicide. Even now my body has many traces of wounds. My liberty of activity has been restrained ever since. At the time of founding the Unification Party in January 1973, a member of a certain organization called on me almost every day for over 20 days and threateningly warned me to keep away from politics. Words fail to express the mental torture I suffered at that time.

Kim Gyong In remarks: I was stripped naked and hung upside down with a club thrust between the bound limbs, and water was poured into my nostrils and mouth.

(1) At about 10:20 p.m., November 2, 1972 four men in leather jumpers from a certain organization intruded into my house and two of them illegally hauled me off. (Later during interrogation they turn-

ed out to be Lieutenant Colonel Pak, Major Pak, Major Choe and Major Ma.)

(2) They put me in a white car *Corona* and drove in the direction of Yongdungpo even without informing me of the destination. (Afterwards I came to know it was the military police in charge of the 5th district which was near a shed of garbage trucks.)

(3) The other two men illegally searched my house, seized visiting and New Year's cards from personages of various strata, lists of wedding gifts for my daughter, and others. They belatedly turned up and joined in the interrogation.

(4) The interrogation started from the midnight of November 2. It was attended with abusive language, violence and torture.

(a) Going through their findings of domiciliary search, they mainly asked about my associates.

(b) Alleging that I had played the role of a brain trust-er to Kim Dae Jung, they interrogated me on Kim Dae Jung's source of funds, his organization and his supporters.

(c) They questioned me as to my funds.

(d) They asked about my life and my acquaintances.

(5) This is how they abused, assaulted and tortured me.

(a) I was interrogated usually from eleven o'clock in the evening to four or five o'clock in the morning of the next day, during which I was kept awake.

(b) "You bastard!" "You scoundrel!" "You shall die!" and the like were what they used to cough out at me, an Assemblyman.

(c) They stripped me naked, threw me to the concrete floor of the Quonset hut, dragged me along and did other violence. They thrashed me with the square timber of a field army bed.

(d) They bound my limbs, inserted the square timber in the folds of my bended knees, and then hung me upside down.

(e) They poured water out of a big teakettle into my nostrils and mouth, hanging me upside down from a stick attached to the table.

(f) In the worst case such torture was repeated two or three times a day, depriving of my senses more than once.

Choe Hyong U remarks: Coming to, I found my naked body bound. My wife too was called in to suffer all humiliation.

I was hauled off twice by the operatives and put to torture. It started on August 23, 1969. I was walked off to the KCIA fifth section that day on a charge of opposing the revision of the Constitution for the third term of office. Keeping me awake for three days and nights, they punched, clubbed and kicked me all over. As they called me a communist sympathizer, I asked back, "Why am I a communist sympathizer?" They blurted: "You opposed the constitutional revision for the third term of office, causing a social unrest. It benefited north Korea after all. Do you still deny that you're a communist sympathizer?" Then they cursed, threatened and pounded me at random. When released, I had to go on all fours, unable to walk. Finding a kind person on my way home, I narrowly reached my house by his help, leaning on his shoulder.

I had been intimidated, blackmailed and shadowed in a state of house arrest until October 17, 1972 when the presidential election was held under the

revitalized system after the dissolution of the Eighth National Assembly. That was the start of the second mishap. At about 11 p.m., October 25 four male strangers came to my house and searched every nook and corner of it (of course, without producing a warrant and revealing their identity). They seized a memo book, and visiting cards and others before they took me to the MP in charge of the 5th district of Yongdungpo. On my arrival there they clubbed me so hard I fainted then and there. Coming to, I found myself stripped naked and hung between two tables, with my limbs bound by hemp cord and a stick thrust between them to twist. They covered my face with a towel and poured water into the nostrils and mouth out of the teapot. This sent me going faint again.

When I came around, I saw a doctor measuring my blood pressure. Torture was resumed. I was tortured eight times that way. I felt like committing suicide by cutting off my tongue. A long sleepy spell added to my intolerable agony. Cold water poured upon my naked body nearly caused a general anesthesia.

Torturing me, they demanded:

- (a) to speak out Kim Yong Sam's organization and his financial source;*
- (b) to name the persons who supplied money at the time of the election for the Eighth National Assembly;*
- (c) to name the person who supplied materials referred to in my speech at the National Assembly.*

"I don't know," was my reply to these three questions. Now they produced the memo and visiting cards they had seized at my house before me one by

one and beat me up until the word "Yes" escaped from my mouth.

I had to suffer such torture five times more because of the distribution of leaflets in my former constituency in Ulsan on October 18. They insisted that our party members in Ulsan had done it on my phone instructions.

Many party officials in my constituency were taken to the CIC in the Ulsan district and put to water and electric tortures.

Thus, a case of leaflet distribution was cooked up and nine persons had to serve six-month term of imprisonment.

Party officials who underwent tortures at that time are: Chon Gye Sok, Kim Gi Hun, An Sok Ho, Li Il Son, Li Gi Taek, Cho Dok Gu, Kim Hyon Sik, Chang Chang Su, Li Yong Chae, Choe Yong Ho and others. In case of Kim Hyon Sik, they brought in his wife and put her to electric torture with her two-year old baby at her side. Beating her, they hissed, "You saw your husband write leaflets, didn't you?" She gave in under compulsion.

On November 18 my wife was hauled off by operatives. As my second son was seriously ill from pneumonia then, she entreated them to give her one day's time. But they refused, saying it was the instructions from higher-up. She was first taken to the Central Police Station in Seoul and then transferred to the hands of CIC in the Pusan district the next day. Prior to her release they interrogated her for four days, yelling cruel taunts: "Is this Choe Hyong U's wife?," "Is this an Assemblyman's wife?," "You

bitch!," "You hag!"

Pak Jong Ryul remarks: I was stripped naked in the rigorous winter of minus-ten degrees, beaten and kept awake for five days.

One day in early November of 1972, I was hauled off at about 11 p.m., by six or seven men who professed themselves to be from the Martial Law Enforcement Headquarters, to a certain place near Yongdungpo.

They stripped me naked in the cold of ten degrees of frost, stuffed my mouth with a towel and poured water over my head. They clubbed, kicked and kept me awake. They tortured me for five days, vomiting slanders and abuses upon me. I fainted more than once during torture.

Kang Gun Ho remarks: I was dehospitalized and put to six days' torture. I was pricked with pins as first-aid treatment when fainted.

Returning to Seoul from my administrative inspection on October 17, 1972, I found my house under the surveillance of operatives. On the 20th, suffering from low blood pressure and diabetes plus that serious shock, I went to the hospital attached to Seoul University from where I was forcibly walked off to the CIC at four o'clock in the afternoon of the 23rd.

There I was tortured for six days by a batch of three interrogators. Before starting torture, they forced me to wear a fatigue and slippers made from worn-out tyre. I was drubbed, exposed to hot light,

and bound before being put into a cockpit like a pilot. They took turns in keeping me awake.

I lost consciousness on the 28th. Coming to, I found myself in the CIC clinic. Oddly enough, I felt a lot of sharp prickling pains on my fingertips and toes and on my head. Later it was revealed that the torturers had pricked them with pins for interrogatory papers when I had fainted.

I received two-day treatment in the clinic before I was released. I fell a victim to sciatica and palsy in the right thigh and underwent treatment for three months. But still now I use crutches.

I have no personal grudge against my interrogators, but I think an end should be put to such inhumanity.

Li Se Gyu remarks: I was hauled off seven times and put under house arrest for 38 days. I broke my false tooth in an attempt to bite off my tongue.

I was illegally hauled off seven times since the dissolution of the National Assembly on October 17, 1972. My house was searched twice and I was put under house arrest and surveillance for 38 days.

It was from the 19th to the 23rd of October, 1972 that I was put to torture. I was tortured for 72 hours without sleep in the Quonset hut of the former MP company in charge of the sixth military district. Even now I don't know who gave instructions to torture me. At first I thought my torturers were from the Martial Law Enforcement Headquarters. But now I'm sure that the prime mover was the KCIA. The chief interrogator was Major Choe from the mi-

litary police. There were also Chang from the KCIA sixth department, and some others.

They unclothed me, hung me upside down, put me to suffocating water torture, kept me awake, and clubbed me heavily. I got hurt in the waist and even now I have to walk with a stick. Humiliation and pain drove me to attempt at suicide during torture. I broke my false tooth in an effort to cut off my tongue. Even back home, I once sought death at my own hand.

Torturing me, they interrogated me on the following points:

- (a) Why did you, an ex-general, join the Opposition?*
- (b) Why did you criticize the government as an Assemblyman?*
- (c) Name your friends in the army.*
- (d) Tell about your relations with Kim Dae Jung, and others.*

These points do not supply any reason for torture....

Ryu Gap Jong remarks: I was threatened with shooting to death, got chilblains in ears and feet, and my toenails were gone.

At around 9 p.m. February 1, 1974 I was walked by a KCIA agent to the office of chief of the fifth section, the sixth department, the KCIA.

At around ten that evening I was taken to the soundproof interrogation room on the seventh floor of the KCIA, where I was questioned about the motive for my involvement in the petition movement

for constitutional revision, the reason why I had called for the release of Chang Jun Ha, the executive of the Democratic Unification Party who was the first to be arrested following the proclamation of the January 8 emergency measure, and the reason why I had made suggestions to the party head Ryang Il Dong concerning the course to be taken by the Party.

I wrote a statement of these facts, but was forced to rewrite six times because it did not meet their scheme. When my last written statement still went against the grain, they showered abuses upon me, threatened me with shooting to death or thrusting with a gimlet, and beat me at random, keeping me awake for three days.

Then I was thrown into a dungeon and on February 6 illegally sent to the Sodaemun Prison. They kept my detention dark from my family for more than one month. In the meantime, the KCIA men turned up every evening at the detention room and looked daggers at me by way of inspiring terror.

Finding out the place of my detention, my family sent in to me clothes and bedding. But they failed to reach me on orders of the KCIA. So, in a solitary cell I suffered frost bite in ears and feet, and lost toenails. I was forbidden to meet my family until the end of the second military trial.

Even a spy is said to be under protection of law. But we were made a prey of the effort to stay in office. This once again proves that law and prison are in the hands of the KCIA, instead of the Ministry of Justice.

Kim Sang Hyon remarks: They drew up an interrogation report, while hanging me upside down. I could not walk when set free.

With the proclamation of the martial law on October 17, 1972 I was put to house arrest by two CIC men who carried a wireless. On November 5 Major General Kang Chang Song, Commander of the CIC, sent two of his men who asked me for an interview with him. I went to his office together with them and had a thirty-minute talk. There I was urged to support the current policy of the Pak regime, but I refused on the ground that it ran counter to the cause of liberty and democracy.

On November 19 a department chief of the KCIA called on me. While urging my cooperation, he intimidated me with the threat that in case of refusal I would lose my political life and pay the price of it. To my inquiry, "Does it mean imprisonment?" the visitor said, "Yes!" I declared I wouldn't support the deceptive politics ignoring the great cause, even if it might work my political ruin. At this, he told me not to hurry on with my decision but to think it over one or two days. I said, "There's no need to do so. My answer will be the same." At this, he quit the place.

Two days later when I called at the house of Yun Je Sul, ex-Vice-Chairman of the National Assembly, two unfamiliar CIC men came there and took me to the "Countercommunist Agency" in So-binggo. They started interrogating me from eleven o'clock in the evening. At the early dawn of the 22nd

they took me to an underground cell, unclothed me, tied my hands together, inserted a club in the folds of my knees and hung me upside down, and then set to write an interrogation report.

It was about the route of my political fund for Kim Dae Jung, about both Kim Dae Jung's and my relations with the army, about his and my relatives, and about the reason for my criticism of the government policy.

A few days passed and they again questioned me in the underground chamber about the above-mentioned points, intimidating me with the display of electric torture facilities and beating me. At nine in the evening of the 29th I was released after undergoing such torture for full nine days. I couldn't get my swollen feet into my shoes. So, I decided to walk barefoot, but in vain. By the help of two men, I could barely reach my home.

At ten in the morning of December 29 I was again taken by the CIC men and transferred to the public procurators' office. On the 30th I was sent to the Sodaemun Prison. There I was not allowed even to meet my family for five months till the close of the first trial.

A Professor's Death

—Case of Prof. Choe Jong Gil of Seoul University—

*This is an article reproduced from Bulletin No. 1
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Committee of Koreans in Japan.*

(1)

It was on October 16, 1973 that Prof. Choe Jong Gil of Seoul University was bundled away to the KCIA. That day he was returning home from the university after giving his lecture. At Tongson street two KCIA men aboard black taxi *Corona* No. 0-2315 stopped him and offered to take him to his home. They bundled him into the taxi and entered the walled office building of the KCIA in Rimun subward, Tongdaemun District.

Why then did the KCIA kidnap Prof. Choe?

Firstly, he supported anti-dictatorship struggle launched on October 2 by the students of the Liberal Arts and Science College of Seoul University, and the struggle of the students of Law College which broke out on the 4th; secondly, Prof. Choe who had been devoted to the academic pursuit began to take a critical view of the reality and help strengthen

anti-government tendency among his students and in the law, educational and press circles; thirdly, by labelling him as a spy after his arrest they attempted to prevent his support to students' struggle, intimidate other professors and suppress and check the anti-dictatorship struggle of Seoul University students.

In effect, both before going abroad for study and after returning home from his study at Köln University in West Germany ten years ago, Prof. Choe had poured all his energy into his academic pursuit and strove to teach the rising generation justice and truth. Dissatisfied with this, the Park regime persecuted him, involving him in a "spying case," which was proved groundless later. In such lamentable situation Prof. Choe should have had his conscience outraged and his free pursuit of learning and even his personal movement restrained.

That is why Prof. Choe was happier than anybody else when the Law College students came out in the anti-dictatorship struggle on October 4 and gave positive support to them.

At the faculty meeting he strongly pleaded the patriotic struggle of the students and denounced the police and the KCIA which arrested and suppressed the patriotic students.

He said: "In my opinion the suppression of the students' struggle stands no reason even from the viewpoint of law. Students demand the restoration of liberty, democracy and the right to existence trodden down by injustice, and cry for the defence of human dignity and national conscience. Their arrest

is inhuman and illegal in every respect."

He was informed by an agent who had wormed his way into the rank of professors. The KCIA sent two men to keep watch on his house in the street No. 3, Tongson sub-ward, Songbuk District.

In the evening of October 5 Prof. Choe was called to the phone at home and threatened: "Behave yourself properly, giving a thought to yourself and your wife and children." Two days after, on October 7, he received a threatening letter to the same effect.

Needless to say, Prof. Choe didn't give in and remained true to his principle and conscience as an educator.

On October 9 when the Minister of Education issued an official order to the presidents of universities and colleges to check the struggle of students, Prof. Choe set himself against it. He also opposed the announcement of temporary closure of the university from the 12th, which was intended to forestall students' strike.

On October 12 he was again threatened by phone, and on the 13th on his way home he encountered a young man who menacingly said: "Are you Prof. Choe Jong Gil? I will give you time to think over till the 15th."

Thus he was taken to the KCIA on October 16.

(2)

Rigorous interrogation of Prof. Choe Jong Gil by the KCIA started on the very day of his arrest.

It was directly taken up by Kim Chi Ryol then Deputy Director of the KCIA (now Public Procurator General).

After two hours' interrogation, Kim Chi Ryol pressed him to make a written promise that he would not instigate students' struggle in future but make his best to prevent students from engaging in politics and lead them to bend themselves to study.

Prof. Choe rejected this demand of the KCIA, and declared: "Even parents find it hard to direct their children's actions. How can I answer for students' demonstration? Particularly, when they are doing just work, no professors, no parents can stand in their way." Faced with Prof. Choe's stubborn resistance, Kim Chi Ryol threatened him with this word: "If you insist that way, it'll get you nowhere. Are you going to sign a written promise to live or not to do it to die?"

On October 17 the following day Prof. Choe was again interrogated by the KCIA men. But realizing they could hardly bring him to his knees by that way, they took him to the torture room.

Prof. Choe was put to "water torture," "aeroplane torture" and other brutal tortures which deprived of his senses.

On October 18 the KCIA resumed his interrogation. That evening he suffered the latest brutal torture—"whiteglow bulb torture" which is applied mainly to intellectuals. Prof. Choe was confined in a narrow hermetic room where were installed five or six 500-watt globes. He was kept there sleepless for eight hours in the heat of 60 degrees and glaring

light and with no supply of drinking water.

Prof. Choe lost consciousness after the lapse of some eight hours.

When he came to, the KCIA men pressed him to change his mind. However, he could not go against his conscience, and said:

"I cannot play false with my students. They cry for liberty, democracy and human dignity and strive to check Japan's economic inroads and find a way out for our nation. Why does it go against law? I am constant in my belief that the demand of the students should be met."

(3)

Knowing that it was impossible to change Prof. Choe's mind, the KCIA decided to finish him off. This decision was made because the release of Prof. Choe crippled by brutal torture would expose its crime and fan up the anti-government sentiments of the students.

The following plot was hatched by the KCIA in murdering Prof. Choe: Firstly, to make it appear that he has committed suicide by falling so that his bone fracture and bruises caused by torture should be made indiscernible; secondly, to ascribe the motive of his suicide to the exposure of his implication in a pre-arranged "spying case," since he had been to West Germany for study; thirdly, to insist that he has committed suicide by taking a chance of his going to the closet.

On October 19 two KCIA men took Prof. Choe to the seventh floor, made him change clothes, led him into the closet through its open door and shoved him out of the window. They even took a photo of the scene as a preparatory measure to prove that he took his life by falling from the tall building. The KCIA did not show Choe's body even to his family for fear that the truth might become known to the students, professors and people of all walks of life. (For Choe's wife, a doctress, would reveal the whole truth, if she had inspected the body.) On October 25 the trumped-up "spying case" was made public by the mouth of Kim Chi Ryol, then Deputy Director of the KCIA. It was the end of that make-believe farce.

In this way, the KCIA murdered Prof. Choe in cold blood. It is now foolishly trying to veil this felonious homicide.

However, Pak Jung Hi and the KCIA can never avoid their being the murderers of Prof. Choe, nor can they check the struggle of the students and people of all walks of life for liberty and democracy.

Thirteen years ago the Syngman Rhee clique murdered boy Kim Ju Ryol who fought against the March 15 fraudulent election in Masan, and threw his body into the sea in an attempt to cover up their crime. Likewise, the KCIA murdered Prof. Choe by throwing him out of the window on the seventh floor after putting him to cruel torture. Here we bring the fiendish KCIA and the culprits to stern judgment before the people.

Torture of a Young Korean Resident in Japan

—Case of Ryang Dong Su—

Here we introduce the first and second chapters of the article entitled, "How I Was Framed as a Prime Mover of the So-called Ullung Island-based Spying and the Truth of the Case," which was made public on April 19, 1974, by Li Jwa Yong, a Korean businessman in Japan. As the manager of Sinhan (New Korea) Trading Co., Ltd. in Tokyo, the author exposed how one of his company employees named Ryang Dong Su had been illegally taken to the KCIA during his official trip to Seoul and suffered cruel torture. He further laid bare how the Pak regime and the KCIA had faked up the "Ullung Island-based spying case" on March 15, 1974, in an attempt to raise a din about the "threat from the north" and suppress the activities of the south Korean democratic forces opposed to dictatorship, and how they had arrested professors, high-school teachers, doctors, pastors, party affiliates, bank employees, workers, peasants, fishermen and their wives—47 in all—on the charge of their involvement in that case. He also pointed to the absurdity of their assertion that he, the author himself, was one of its prime movers and that as a "spy of the north," he had sent 13 men to that "underground spying." He scathingly denounced the KCIA for labelling him as a "spy" in pursuit of its shady design. Together with the article, Li Jwa Yong published his "appeal" which reads in part:

"...accusing the sister company (Sinhan Textile Co., Ltd. in Seoul) as the base for espionage activities, the

KCIA confiscated its property and deprived the trading company (Sinhan Trading Co., Ltd.) in Tokyo of all its stocks and rights over that sister company. Our Japanese friends and employees know better than anybody else whether our company has engaged in espionage or not. As for six persons among those whom I am accused of having drawn into my fold by the KCIA, I don't know even their names nor remember having seen them before.

"The Pak regime and the KCIA needed a scapegoat to tide over the 'April crisis.' And it seems they found a Korean resident in Japan an easy prey. Thus, I was chosen as a scapegoat this time. I cannot help condemning them as a gang of murderers who make no scruple to take away liberty, democracy, justice, truth and even human lives to remain in power" (From south Korean publication Revolutionary Front dated December 13, 1973.)

1. TORTURE OF RYANG DONG SU AND FALSE CONFESSION

At around two o'clock in the afternoon of October 16, 1972 Ryang Dong Su was among the people standing in queues for exit visas at the Kimpo airport of Seoul. He was a member of Sinhan Trading Co., Ltd. which I had formed together with my friends in Japan. He had finished the course of study at the economic department of Tokyo University and then served with the seminar of the same university before taking his first step of public career in our company two years ago. Aged 28, he had a great career before him. That day he was on his way back to Japan after making production and sale arrangements with the Sinhan Textile Co., Ltd. in Seoul. He

was standing mulling over his report for our company. When his turn came round, he handed his visa over to the receptionist, who checked it for a while with a document on the table before handing it to a man sitting there in silence. "Well, I want to see you. Come in, please," the man said, and showed Ryang in another room where three robust men were in wait for him. They grabbed Ryang's arms and legs without rhyme or reason and bundled him into a big car parking at the door way. Prostrated on the floor of the back seat, two men sitting on him astride, Ryang could not look out of the car window nor budge an inch. After half an hour, the car pulled up and he was got out of it and walked with his eyes blindfolded. What he could see when the blindfold was removed was seven or eight ruffians standing on the desolate, cold concrete floor. That was the start of Ryang's misfortune.

After confiscating all his personal belongings, one ruffian forced him to kneel down on the concrete floor, and croaked: "We are from the KCIA. You'll be treated as a human being for only three hours hence and then as an animal. The martial law will be proclaimed this evening. If you don't empty the bag, we'll hand you over to the CIC. Then tomorrow morning you'll find your body in a manhole. A newspaper'll cover it in a few lines and no one will know what and who it is. We have here everything from electric torture tools to dungeons." An icy shudder went through Ryang's spine. (This may be my end. No one knows I am now here in the KCIA. I must get back to Japan anyhow.)

Another ruffian took up the ball, and rattled: "We know you had been to north Korea in August last year. We have an evidence and witness for it. Admit it straight!" Then they showered questions upon Ryang in turns: Have you had any contacts with Mr. R, a Tokyo University graduate, who is now a college instructor in south Korea, and with Mr. K, a graduate of the same university? Tell your view of the leaders of the Korean alumni association of Tokyo University and your relations with them; Say the present moves of the former members of the South Korean Students' Union in Japan; Explain your relations with functionaries of the South Korean Youth League in Japan and the leadership of the Mindan (the pro-South Korean Residents' Union in Japan); Who did you meet during your last and current visits to south Korea and why? Tell the leadership and membership of your company, its business and its visitors. The last demand was based on his confiscated directory where he had entered the names and addresses of his friends and acquaintances.

Ryang told the truth: He had never been to the north; he did not meet the Tokyo University graduates in question; he entered south Korea solely on his company's business and did nothing else.

This rather gentlemanly interrogation lasted late that day. Before lying on the concrete floor, trembling with unrest and fear, he rang up me in Tokyo on the instructions of the KCIA and under its watch, and said: "Owing to circumstances I'll be here one or two weeks late."

The following morning found the complete chan-

ge of KCIA men's attitude. They reproached Ryang with his failure to tell of 50,000 *won*, the money given by the director of the company in Tokyo (Kim Ho Chol, a graduate of the economic department of Tokyo University, and my able companion who is good in English, German and trade business) asking to buy a present for his old mother. (Ryang utterly forgot it.) They also threatened him with arrest of the director of the company in Seoul (Choe Gil Ha, my brother-in-law). Then they clubbed the legs, waist and back of Ryang who was on his knees. They threateningly blurted: "So Sung too was beaten this way. So-and-so bit his tongue to kill himself, but the first aid kept him alive. Kim Dae Jung too shall be put to death on his return home." (Kim was abroad then.)

They tortured Ryang in turns for full three days and nights without giving him a sleeping spell, now hanging his bare body upside down from the ceiling, now pouring water over his face out of a teapot till he choked, now wringing his hands bound with a wet towel, now gagging him with a towel and pouring water over his mouth to choke him. Ryang remembered fainting thrice at the time. When fainted, he was flung into the open, naked at the dead of night when the temperature fell to ten degrees below zero.

On the fourth day when he recovered the presence of his mind, he found himself in a private house. He vaguely remembered he had made a false confession. "I had been to the north." (He had thought the only way to escape death was to do as told to.) He

had believed that false confession would prolong his life for a few days or months at least.

That day he was brought to a section chief of the KCIA. On the way he heard one of the agents mutter, "You're a lucky boy." The section chief asked, "You wish to be back to Japan, don't you?" Ryang replied, "Yes!" At this, the chief said, "It's the same with all of you. There is only one way for you to return." Then he pressed Ryang to make a written pledge and confession. There was no other alternative than to do it. Suffering from guilty conscience, Ryang gave in.

He wrote: "I pledge myself to be loyal to the Pak regime and devote my whole life to combating communism." Then, as dictated by the KCIA, he jotted down to this effect: He had been to the north; it was not on the company's business but for anti-government activities on the instructions of the company's manager (myself) and the director that he visited south Korea on three occasions; both companies in Seoul and Tokyo are bogus ones which don't do any business but spend the operative funds from the north; 50,000 *won* given by the company director to buy a present for his mother and 100,000 *won* disbursed by the company for his round-trip fare and lodging charge were all operative funds; those whom he had met on official or private business—including his uncle and other relatives—were all those to be won over; he was caught at the airport while escaping from south Korea after his unsuccessful operation. Ryang signed his name on this written confession.

Upon signing it, Ryang heard the KCIA section chief say, "You are now free to visit south Korea. The KCIA is almighty, you know. We will ensure your economic rights and interests. Back to Japan, don't speak of the torture you've suffered. Collect information and follow the instructions of a certain An whom you'll meet." Then he added with a happy smile, "It is sure that you had not been to the north. In a half fainting state, you confessed, but failed to indicate your guide and your destination."

2. WHY HAS RYANG DONG SU DISAPPEARED FROM SOUTH KOREAN COMMUNITY?

On his release Ryang stayed several days at his uncle's in Seoul under the strict surveillance of the KCIA. He was told to heal his wounds there. His uncle, former Assemblyman from the Democratic Republican Party, kept mum. But he came to know there that the delay of his return to Japan had affected the holding of his wedding ceremony (He was due to celebrate it at the close of October in Osaka.) and so there had been many telephone calls asking about his whereabouts, and that his uncle had made every possible effort for his sake and stood security for him.

Five days later Ryang received a visa plus an air ticket, and restored his personal articles seized by the KCIA. He arrived at the airport under its escort. By the time the plane bearing him took off, he had been nervous at the thought that he might be hauled

off again. Only when the land of Japan came in sight after a one-hour flight did he feel relieved as if awakened from a hideous dream. But that relieved feeling lasted short. At the exit of Haneda airport, he was again assaulted by an intense terror. He remembered threatening words, "In case you fail to follow our instructions you shall perish anytime anywhere."

Back to Japan, he was lost in contemplation for three days.

"What was I arrested for?" The KCIA section chief said, "It is because you are a Tokyo University graduate and a leading member of the former South Korean Students' Union and, moreover, you have visited south Korea three times in a short period."

"Why was I released so soon?" (Koreans in Japan whisper among themselves that it would take half a year at the soonest and one year on the average. Was it due to my uncle's efforts? Or on account of my wedding ceremony? Or is it intended to implicate my senior Tokyo University graduates, and our company manager and director? The manager is widely acquainted with financiers and intellectuals of south Korea. The director, too, is a Tokyo University graduate and is now in Europe for several years on a public catering business. According to KCIA's argument, both come within the category of punishment.)

"What will the KCIA do with me?" (They may use me as their agent for some time and then, when need arises, may arrest me again and punish me as

a north's spy. And I signed a false written confession.)

"How to evade this trap?" (If I expose everything it will imperil the lives of my uncle and relatives and our company leaders in Seoul. If I keep mum, our company employees and colleagues in Tokyo will suffer like me when they go to south Korea. My senior alumnus of Tokyo University who had faced the same bitter experience in south Korea as I did wash his hands of the KCIA after returning to Japan. My interrogators told of this to me and said they would find out his whereabouts without fail and punish him.)

Ryang boldly broke out of this mental agony and told us everything that had happened to him. Begging me and the director not to visit south Korea in any case, he said: "I know better than anyone else that the director and manager have done their best for our trading company in Tokyo ever since its founding. But you are in danger of being labelled spies for the north. I told them you're spies of the north. But I can swear before God that you are not Communists."

Ryang confessed this absent-mindedly. To forsake his hope, he added, his fruits of labour, his youth, friends and nation and to forget the torture he had suffered and to lead a quiet life in the Japanese community—this is the only way for him to keep his life and cause no victims. Then, wearing an emaciated look of an old man, he left for Osaka to meet his bride. (From the August 1975 issue of the magazine *Toitsu Hyoron* published in Japan.)

“I FIGHT AGAINST OPPRESSION AND EXPLOITATION: THE STRUGGLE IS MY EXISTENCE”

—A Declaration of Conscience—

Kim Ji Ha
Poet

The November 1975 issue of Sekai, a Japanese politico-theoretical magazine, carried “Declaration of Conscience” of Kim Ji Ha, a patriotic poet of south Korea.

Kim Ji Ha wrote it in prison.

He was arrested in the spring of 1974 for his involvement in the case of the “National Federation of Democratic Youth and Students” and sentenced to death. Later he was released from prison on a general pardon. But he was rearrested. In his prison note entitled “Asceticism—1974” he reportedly pointed out that the “People’s Revolutionary Party” case was a fabrication. This was the reason of his rearrest. Also the south Korean puppet Ministry of Culture and Information announced that Kim Ji Ha was a Marxist. To afford evidence, it published a booklet containing a “statement” and “prison memo” which are said to have been written by the poet himself. In his “Declaration of Conscience” he affirmed that the accusation was the product of the intrigue of the present power elite.

He drew up the “Declaration of Conscience” in mid-May 1975 and sent it to Father Yun Hyong Jung secretly. Then it was made public by an American father named J.

Sinnott.

Below we introduce part of his "Declaration of Conscience."

A DECLARATION OF CONSCIENCE

To all who cherish justice and truth.

The Pak regime is tying me up in a conspiratorial net of incredible lies. They say I am a communist who infiltrated the Roman Catholic Church and pretended to be an advocate of democracy and human rights. I have been arrested and imprisoned on these charges.

The authorities will soon begin a courtroom charade to "legally" brand me forever as a treacherous Marxist-Leninist agent. I will be impressed into the ranks of that legion of government-designated "communists."

I am not the only target of this conspiracy. It is directed at the whole movement to restore democracy and at the Christian Church which has been fighting for social justice. The authorities are particularly determined to label as pro-communist the Association of Catholic Priests for the Realization of Justice, the National Council for the Restoration of Democracy, and all youth and student movements. This is the forerunner of a broad crackdown on dissent.

The government has been making these vile charges against me for more than a decade; they are

nothing new. I should prefer not to waste words with a personal defense here. The Korean Central Intelligence Agency (KCIA) agents say, "If you have a statement to make about these charges, do it in court." For once I agreed with them. I intended to do just that: to try to bring out some of the truth about this travesty during the trial by challenging the prosecutor.

However, the current political situation compels me to speak out now. It is not just my convictions and my credibility that are endangered. The net has been thrown widely to encompass all democratic forces, my church and the student movement. I owe it to history and the Korean people to state my beliefs and the facts about my arrest as I know them.

1. Am I a Communist?

I have never in the past thought of myself as a communist, and I still do not. I am not a communist. The KCIA charges against me are patently absurd. My lawyer has told me they have taken the "confession" I was forced to write and have made it public to prove that I am a communist. (The KCIA is distributing a pamphlet entitled "The Case against Kim Ji Ha, True Identity of the Poet" which includes Kim's confession, excerpts from his prison notes, list of books seized at his home, etc.) The "confession" in the pamphlet is called Statement No. 2 but

actually it was the third one. The KCIA discarded the second statement but still numbered the third version as No. 2. These details aside, it is true that the document was written by my hand.

But not by my mind and soul. It was not a voluntary statement. I was a powerless individual in an underground interrogation room of the KCIA's Fifth Bureau. They were the almighty agency of state terror, beyond any law or decency. How much truth do you think there is in those sheets of paper, my "confession"? From the time of my arrest I was pressured to say that I was a "communist who had infiltrated the Catholic Church." The government had decided to destroy me politically and religiously. They were going to crush me until I was flattened out like a piece of dried cuttlefish. I resisted my interrogators and refused to "confess." The grilling continued for five or six days, I think. Finally they wore me down. I had not been in good health before my arrest; I had fainted several times due to anemia, and I was suffering from chronic insomnia. The constant questioning left me physically exhausted and delirious. I knew the Pak regime would use any means necessary to convict me as a communist. It did no good to keep telling the interrogators that I was innocent. They had strict orders from their master to "Get Kim Ji Ha" regardless of the facts. The KCIA agents were cogs in the machine; they could not refuse that order. They were ashamed of what they were doing but they hammered away at me day and night. I saw no point in continuing the nerve-wracking war of attrition against such pitiful

men!

Finally, on the sixth day, I wrote out a statement which they dictated. I scribbled it down like graffiti on a toilet wall and threw it at them. That is how my "confession" was written.

As one might expect, the statement is full of lies and inconsistencies. There is the banal wording so dear to the KCIA hacks: "I became a communist out of a sense of inferiority and frustration due to poverty and illness." This is the vilest part of the document. They used the same phrasing over and over again when I was indicted in 1970 for writing "The Five Bandits," for "Groundless Rumors" in 1972, and in the National Federation of Democratic Youth and Students incident in 1974. There is a materialistic determinism in the phraseology, as if all the poor and afflicted are "potential communist criminals." Would any self-respecting person write such craven drivel of his own free will?

According to the "confession," all my activities, including writing "Five Bandits" and "Groundless Rumors," were due to my communist ideas. I wonder if foreign readers of the poems were deceived by my communist propaganda? There must be many red faces among those foreign literary critics who praised my work and did not even realize that it was "communist propaganda." If "Five Bandits" is communist literature, why have the charges against me been pending for more than four years! And why was I not even indicted for "Groundless Rumors"?

The "confession" says that I am a communist and a Catholic. That is an antinomy like being a

“democratic fascist.” Every schoolchild knows that communism regards religion, especially Christianity, as the “opiate of the masses.”

I understand that the KCIA pamphlet cites a few books I had in my possession as “proof” that I am a communist. They are so stupid! Their petty, frightened police-state minds! No matter how severely intellectual freedom is restricted in south Korea, does reading a few Marxist classics make a person a communist? The most avid readers of leftist books are the censors who check every piece of literature that comes into this country. If they can read those materials, why is it a crime for me? I have read hundreds of books; the authorities seized fewer than ten. Every one of those without exception is a classic that any foreign intellectual has read.

The KCIA pamphlet reproduces some of the notes I jotted down in prison from April 1974 until February 1975. Again those memoranda and notes are supposed to be “proof” that I am a communist. Those notes contain all kinds of thoughts and emotions. Ideas that flitted into my mind like birds flitting past my cell window. There are ruminations on this or that, outlines of projects I hope to write about in the future. Bits and pieces, unconnected fragments. They do not show that I am a man ideologically committed to communism. If the government will make public all my notes, the charges against me will fall of their own weight. Anyone who examines the material will see my values; my hatred of oppression and exploitation, my groping in the political wilderness for a way out of these iniquities, how I have driven

myself in the quest for answers! This search has nothing to do with communism.

How should I define my ideological position? Before I attempt that, two points require clarification.

First, I regard myself as a free thinker not bound by any ideological system. I hope my ideas are neither shaped by personal ambition nor yield to intimidation and that they are also unfettered by any dogma or creed. Thus I have never defined myself as an adherent of any "ism." I belong in the creative tension formed by the chaos of freedom. A natural pool swirls with cross currents of ideas, values, systems, experiences. By diving into that pool again and again I hope to come up with a few grains of truth. I stand beside that pool poised for the next dive.

Secondly, I am ideologically unfinished. That's a crude way of saying that I have never accepted one ideology as my operative value system. So far I have never found one system of thought that was logically convincing. I am still looking. In a sense, this is a shameful admission, but there are extenuating circumstances, I think. An individual's beliefs and conscience must be free, and the process that shapes them must also be open, competitive, eclectic. Man has a natural right to find his own values. Even the Yushin Constitution, promulgated by Pak Jung Hi in December 1972, guarantees this right to south Korean society. Nevertheless, intellectual life and value formulation are totally controlled in our

country. A single ideology with its priorities, preferences, tabus and sanctions is dominant.

Consider the spiritual ethos of south Korea. The flow of information is controlled. One can only read a limited number of authorized books. Antiintellectualism and pervasive secrecy are the rule. I have tried, often with doubts and remorse, to find the truth in this darkness. I am not the only one. Every south Korean who has sought to understand what is going on in this country and in the world has trod the same uncertain, dangerous path. My ideological education is incomplete.

Under these conditions surely there is virtually no possibility of autogenous communism sprouting here. We have never been taught anything about communism except emotional diatribes against it. Even if a few curious people secretly read some leftist books, how could they turn into full-fledged communists with a firm grasp of dialectics, party history and doctrine? No "autogenous communist" could emerge from the younger generation. That includes me. Far from being a committed communist, as the KCIA charges, I have no reliable information about the nature of communism or what life is like in a socialist country. The charge that I am a communist is utterly groundless.

2. Democracy, Revolution, Violence

I want to identify with the oppressed, the exploit-

ed, the troubled, and the despised. I want my love to be dedicated, passionate, and manifested in practical ways. This is the totality of my self-imposed task for humanity, the alpha and the omega of my intellectual search. I hope that my odyssey will be understood as a love for mankind.

My desire to love the brotherhood of man makes me hate the oppression and exploitation that dehumanizes him. He who exploits others corrupts himself. Thus I fight against oppression and exploitation; the struggle is my existence.

I became a Catholic because Catholicism conveys a universal message. Not only the spiritual and material burdens could be lifted from man but also oppression itself could be ended by the salvation of both the oppressor and the oppressed. Catholicism is capable of assimilating and synthesizing these contradictory and conflicting ideologies, theories, and value standards into a universal truth.

My beliefs spring from a confident love for the common people. I have opposed the Pak regime and ridiculed the "Five Bandits" because they are the criminal gangleaders looting this country. I have grown up as one of the oppressed masses. That perspective enabled me to see that a pernicious elitist bias permeates our society. The oppressors say the masses are base, ugly, morally depraved, innately lazy, untrustworthy, ignorant and a spiritless, inferior race. But the common people I have known are not like that. They are honest and industrious. They may look stupid to a Seoul bureaucrat but they were endowed with a rich, native intelligence. Although

they seem listless, they possess enormous inner strength and determination. They may be rough, not very sophisticated, but they have genuine affection for their friends and neighbors. The common people I knew are proud, full of an unassuming vitality.

I have total confidence in the people. Given the opportunity they will find correct solutions to their problems. And their time is coming. The people cannot be denied their rights and justice much longer. My confidence in the people has led me to trust their ability to determine their own fate.

Those who fear the people, who find the masses despicable, are ipso facto not democrats. When the going gets rough, they will stand with the oppressors.

What is democracy? It is an ideology opposed to silence, a system that respects a free Logos and freedom of speech. It encourages the cacophony of dissent. A political system where everything is not revealed to the public is not a democracy. I believe that the truth, only the truth, will liberate man. A public consciousness dulled by soporific incantations and smothered in darkness can be liberated by the truth. Only when the people struggle out of the darkness, driven along by the very chaos of their opposition to authority, will they reach the sundrenched fields. Then they can head toward Canaan, the land of justice and freedom promised by the Creator. This is my dream, my faith.

I cannot describe Canaan in detail. No one man can do that. I think it will be created by the collective effort of all the people. My task is to fight on until

the people hold the power in their own hands to shape their destiny. I want a victory for real democracy, complete freedom of speech. Nothing more, nothing less. In this sense, I am a radical democrat and libertarian. I am also a Catholic, one of the oppressed citizens of the Republic of Korea, and a young man who loathes privilege, corruption, and dictatorial power. This defines my political beliefs. I have nothing more to add.

Democracy does not require a "benevolent ruler who loves the people." A ruler who fears the people's wrath and weapons is preferable. Democracy entails an uncompromising rejection of oppression. There is no democracy as long as the people cannot depose an undesirable ruler. Thus democracy does not deny the people the right of revolution; on the contrary, that fundamental right is the last guarantee of popular sovereignty. This obvious truth must never be forgotten.

The right of revolution, the constant and eternal possibility of overthrowing illegitimate authority, is the ultimate sanction against misrule that enables the people to defend themselves from oppression and exploitation. Rulers, of course, make revolution illegal; even discussion of it is banned as subversive. Thus they can continue their political and economic domination. But that is why I must support resistance and revolution.

I feel enormous pride in our Korean traditions. The people have often protested against injustice and misgovernment. Unfortunately, the rulers, irredeemably callous and arrogant, often crushed the

protests with force. Under these circumstances have the people any choice but revolution?

Catholic political thought since Thomas Aquinas has explicitly recognized the people's right and duty, based on natural law, to overthrow a tyrant who threatens their existence and the common good. Resistance abruptly changes the course of human affairs. The people themselves recover their humanity. The masses undergo a sudden and profound awakening; history makes up for lost time by encouraging the people to miraculous feats.

Sooner or later resistance and revolution lead to the phenomenon of violence. When the violence of authority sustains oppression, the people's will is crushed, their best leaders are killed, and the rest are cowed into submission. The "silence of law and order" settles grimly across the land. Then an antithetical situation exists where violence must shatter this macabre order. To a degree, I approve of this kind of violence. No, that is not strong enough. I must approve of it. I reject the violence of oppression and accept the violence of resistance. I reject dehumanizing violence and accept the violence that restores human dignity. It could justly be called a "violence of love."

Jesus used his whip on the merchants defiling the temple. That was the "violence of love." It was force suffused with love. Jesus wanted the afflicted and their oppressive rulers to be reborn again as true children of God.

Violence and destructiveness obviously bring suf-

fering and hardship. But we must sometimes cause and endure suffering. Never is this more true than when the people are dozing in silent submission, when they cannot be awakened from their torpor. To preach "non violence" at such a time leaves them defenseless before their enemies. When the people must be awakened and sent resolutely off to battle, violence is unavoidable. Ghandi and Franz Fanon agonized over this dilemma. Father Camilo Torres took a rifle and joined the people. He died with them, his weapon never fired. The fallen priest with his rifle epitomized godliness. I do not know if his beliefs and methods were correct or not, but the purity of his love always moves me to tears. He staggered along his road to Golgotha with uncertain tread. He was prepared to commit sin out of love for others. He was not afraid to burn in the depths of eternal hell.

True nonviolence requires total noncompliance and non-cooperation. It concedes nothing to the oppressors. The superficial kind of nonviolence, which makes limited gestures of opposition, is just another form of craven cooperation with authorities. Cowardly nonviolence is morally equivalent to cruel violence because with both the people get crushed. On the other hand, the "violence of love" is essentially the same as a "courageous nonviolence" in that it arms the people against their foes. I approve of the "violence of love" but I am also a proponent of true non-violence.

The revolution I support would be a synthesis of true nonviolence and an agonized violence of love.

(I am now working on a long ballad, "Chang Il Tam," set against this background.)

To reach that golden mean, a nonviolence that does not drift to cowardly compromise and a violence that does not break the bonds of love and lapse into carnage, mankind must undergo an unceasing spiritual renewal and the masses must experience a universal self-awakening.

While I grant that the violence of Blanquism can light the psychological fuse to revolution, I do not anticipate or support a "lucky revolution" achieved by a small number of armed groups committing terrorist acts of violence. That is why I have eschewed the formation of or membership in secret organizations and have participated in activities consistent with the democratic process; writing and petitions, rallies and prayer meetings.

My vision of a revolution is one to create a unified Korea based on freedom, democracy, self-reliance, and peace. More fundamentally, however, it must enable the Korean people to decide their own fate. I can confidently support such a revolution.

That revolution will not follow foreign models or patterns, but will flow from our unique revolutionary tradition. The Tonghak rebellion, the March First Independence Movement, and the 1960 April Student Revolution adumbrate the next revolution.

3. Revolutionary Religion: The World of "Chang Il Tam"

The more I search for answers, the more contradictory ideas I find and the more confused I am. J. B. Metz confessed to the same experience. Yet the antagonistic diversity of these systems of thought makes me strive even more for faith in the one absolute being. I believe such faith is attainable.

Must revolution reject religion and religion be the foe of revolution? I think the answer is "No." Perhaps by this reply alone I could not be a Marxist-Leninist. But the Marxist dictum that religion is the opiate of the masses is only a partial truth applicable to one aspect of religion.

When a people have been brutally misruled and exploited for a long time, they lose their passion for justice and their affection for their fellowmen. Committed only to self-survival, they lapse into an individualistic materialism. Their near-crazed resentment and rage at social and economic conditions, diverted into frustration and self-hatred, is repeatedly dissipated in fragmented, anomic actions. Our prisons are full of lower-class criminals, thrown there by a ruling elite that spits on the poor and flourishes on social injustice. The prisoners' roster of crimes is diverse: armed robbery, theft, murder, desertion from military service, kidnapping, etc. Yet their

wretched tragedy has a common origin in frustration and alienation.

The chief priests and Pharisees diffuse the people's bitter resentment and moral indignation with sentimental charity. The people are emasculated by mercy. The god of philanthropy serves the oppressor by turning the people into a mob of beggars. That is why I cannot admire Albert Schweitzer.

In similar situations of bondage and deprivation, prophetic religions of love arise in the wilderness and shake the emotions of the oppressed and mistreated people. The slumbering masses awaken like a thunderclap; their human and divine qualities suddenly shine forth. The mystery of resurrection—revolution. That resurrection fashions people in God's image, opens their eyes to their own nobility and turns their frustration and self-hatred into eschatological hope. This kind of resurrection changes a selfish, individualistic, escapist anomie into a fraternal, united, realistic commitment to the common good. It becomes a struggle for a humane life and dignity for all the people. This resurrection prevents the people's bitter resentment and moral indignation from evaporating in self-hatred and converts it into a fierce demand for God's universal justice. If necessary, the people's enormous energy may also be directed to a decisive, organized explosion. This is a revolutionary religion. This miraculous conversion which conceived the mystery of revival may also bring a decisive spiritual revival. This conversion is the philosophy of *tan*, the determination to choose the circumstances of one's death, that my hero Chang

Il Tam sings about.

Since my college years when I suffered from tuberculosis, I have passionately wanted to understand both my personal situation and my country's. How could I overcome by terror of death and how could south Korea find its way out of the ubiquitous spiritual dehumanization and material poverty. I heard something then about the Tonghak teaching that "Man is Heaven." At first it was a pianissimo idea that made only a slight impression. Later I learned more about the Tonghak rebellion, and an image took shape in my mind. I could see that awesome band of starving peasants, their proud banners proclaiming "An end to violence, save the people," as they marched off to fight. Suddenly that Tonghak teaching became fortissimo, as thunderous as the battle cries of those marching peasants.

I have been grappling with that image for ten years. At some point I gave it a name, "the unity of God and revolution." I also changed the phrase "man is heaven" into "rice is heaven" and used it in my poetry.

The synthesis draws from diverse sources. One example is the adaptation of the teachings of Marx and Jesus. Marx's contribution is his structural epistemology which maintains that social oppression blocks man's salvation. From Jesus's teachings is taken his humanism, which advocates love for all people and the sanctity of man, his emphasis on rebirth as the means to salvation, the idea of the God of hope who brings salvation, equality, and liberation on earth, and the activities of Jesus of Nazareth

during his life.

The synthesis tries to unify and integrate these concepts. In my view this is not a mechanical process, a routine grafting of bits of Marxism onto Christianity. The union produces something entirely new. (The new synthesis is not finished. Its gestalt cannot be defined; it is still amorphous. Therefore I must decline to use the existing terminology. The Korean people are suffering from the tragic reality of a divided peninsula. This division has become the excuse for brutal repression; everything is done in the name of "national security," the "threat from the North." Under this praetorian system south Korean society has become rigid, intolerant, frightened; our intellectual life is as airless and barren as the valleys of the moon. The authorities, hypersensitive and always suspicious of new and possibly "dangerous thoughts," may attempt to label my ideas as a certain ideology. I reject this false labeling of an unfinished "product." I stand on my human right to be creative. Man's original ideas are not turned out on an assembly line.)

The greatest single influence on my thinking, however, has been my participation since 1971 in the Korean Christian movement for human rights. This experience convinced me that the Korean tradition of resistance and revolution, with its unique vitality under the incredibly negative circumstances prevailing here, are precious materials for a new form of human liberation. This rich lode will be of special value to the Third World. Shaped and polished by the tools of liberation theology, our experi-

ence may inspire miraculous new forms of *Missio Dei* in the gritty struggle of the south Korean people.

My ballad "Chang Il Tam" attempts to express these ideas through the teachings and intellectual pilgrimage of one holy man who speaks in the form of gospels. However, the Pak regime has seized my notes as proof of a "conspiracy to publish subversive materials."

Chang Il Tam is a thief, the son of a prostitute and a *paekjong* (an outcast strata which performs unclean tasks such as slaughtering animals, tanning, etc.) A failure in life, despondent, Chang suddenly attains enlightenment and becomes a preacher of liberation. Chang emulates Rim Kok Jong (Korea's legendary chivalrous robber) in believing that the poor should "re-liberate" what the rich have stolen from them and divide it equally among the needy. He begins stealing from the rich and giving to the poor, is arrested and thrown into jail, whereupon he teaches the other prisoners about revolution. One day Chang is unfairly disciplined. Angrily throwing caution to the winds, he shouts, "We must be liberated! Down with the hated bourgeois!" (My working notes cover only a portion of his proselytizing in prison; these are his early radical ideas. The government claims they are identical with my ideas and therefore constitute irrefutable proof that I am a communist!)

Chang escapes from prison, is hunted by the police, and finally hides in a filthy back alley where some prostitutes are plying their trade. He calls to the prostitutes, "Oh, you are all my Mother!" He

kisses their feet and declares: "The soles of your feet are heaven," "God is in your putrid wombs," and "God's place is with the lowest of the low."

Chang later goes to live on Mt. Kyeryong and preaches about a paradise in the land of the Eastern Sea (Korea). He teaches a systematic religious discipline in three stages: *Sichonju*, acceptance of God and service to Him; *Yangchonju*, cultivation of God in your heart and subordination of everything to God's will; and *Saengchonju*, existence with God's will. Chang preaches "community ownership of property," teaches about revolution, stresses the unity of prayer and action, and advocates "resistance against the tide." His major ideas include "the transformation of the lowest into heaven," that the traveler's path from this world to heaven is revolution, the need to purge the wild beasts that lurk within the hearts of men, symbolic of the *paekjong's* occupation, and that this world is corrupt but in the next world they will visit the paradise in the Eastern Sea.

Chang Il Tam preaches to the workers and farmers. He builds an altar in the wilderness, starts a huge bonfire, and casts everything old into the flames. He teaches the people that although violence is unavoidable, *tan* is desirable. Chang leads the multitude toward the evil palace in the capital, Seoul. The throng all carry beggar's cans. At this point Chang proclaims that paradise is "to share food with others" and that "food is heaven." They reach the capital where food is abundant and continue through the city on the eternal journey toward

paradise where food is shared by all. (This journey implies an endless transmigratory discipline; to the destination and then a return to a place where there is no food.)

During the march to Seoul, Chang is defeated in a battle. The government offers a reward, and the traitor Judas turns Chang in. Chang remains silent, saying nothing in his own defense. He is convicted of violating the Anti-Communist Law and the National Security Law, and of inciting rebellion. Chang is taken out to be executed and just before he is beheaded, breaks his silence and sings a song, "Food Is Heaven."

Food is heaven
You can't make it on your own
Food should be shared
Food is heaven.

We all see
The same stars in heaven
How natural that we
All share the same food.

Food is heaven
As we eat
God enters us
Food is heaven.

Oh, food
Should be shared by all.

Chang is resurrected three days later. His severed head seeks out the traitor Judas, decapitates him, and places itself on his trunk. The traitor's body is joined with the saint's destiny. This weird union of holiness, goodness, and truth, accomplished through Judas' wicked intelligence, is both Chang's revenge and salvation for the sinner. It expresses the manifold paradoxes of Chang's thought:

My tentative denouement for the ballad is, "The song 'Food should be shared' has become a raging storm sweeping into every corner of the country."

That is the general outline of the ballad. I repeat that Chang Il Tam's world is in flux. Religious asceticism and revolutionary action, the works of Jesus, the struggle of Choe Su Un (founder of the Tonghak) and Chon Bong Jun (commander of the Tonghak peasant army), a yearning for the communal life of early Christianity, and a deep affection for the long, valiant resistance of the Korean people are all part of Chang's kaleidoscopic world. So are Paulo Freire's *The Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, Franz Fanon's ideas on violence, the direct action of Blanquism, the Christian view of man as flawed by original sin, the Catholic doctrine of the omnipresence of God and the Buddhist concept of the transmigration of the soul, the populist redistributive egalitarianism of Rim Kok Jong and Hong Gil Dong, and the Tonghak teachings of *Sichonju* and *Yangchonju*. Some of these movements and doctrines combine and coalesce; others clash in mighty confrontations.

I have no intention of trying to provide a consistent theoretical elucidation of "Chang Il Tam" while

I am still writing it. That is impossible. When the work is finished, I may be able to do so.

4. Did I Violate the Anti-Communist Law?

The charge that I am a communist rests on three allegations. First, that my notebooks for "Chang Il Tam" and other works contain statements favorable to North Korea. Second, that my statements about the so-called People's Revolutionary Party (PRP) "praise, encourage, and support" a subversive organization. Thirdly, that my possession of several books was beneficial to North Korea because they "praise, encourage, and support" subversive ideas.

National security laws have been misused in South Korea for many years. The constant, expedient, indiscriminate and conspiratorial application of the dreaded Article Four of the Anti-Communist Law has been the most malevolent restriction on the intellectual and spiritual growth of the republic. It has been used to deprive us of freedom of speech and to impose a suffocating culture of silence that has killed democracy and sustained a corrupt dictatorship. I oppose the misuse of Article Four with every ounce of strength in my body. It is repugnant to everything I believe in and stand for. I call on others to oppose the regime's attempt to gag me with this filthy rag of a law. We must have freedom of thought and expression. Individuality—conscience and creativity—

must be protected.

I shall discuss the state's allegations one by one. I was harassed by the KCIA interrogators to admit that some of my notes for "Chang Il Tam" were based on Mao Tse-tung's thought. As I stated above, the work draws on the seminal ideas, theories, and accomplishments of world civilization. Mao's *On Contradiction* is an important contribution to politics. But the KCIA were so proud of themselves! At last they had found a real "communist connection." They said I was a Maoist who joined the Catholic Church because I followed Mao's teaching on the transformation and unity of antagonisms. My notes included the words, "God and revolution, bread and freedom, the unity of earth and heaven," all phrases that correspond to the resolution of contradictions. To my astonishment, the KCIA even attributed my use of the word "resurrection" to Mao! They said the "resolution" of death into resurrection was the resolution of a contradiction! Even perverse sophistry has its limits, one would think. Perhaps under the circumstances I can be excused for not admiring the vivid imagination and creativity of the prosecutor.

The police of the Republic of Korea are not much for subtle distinctions. They regard materialism as identical with metaphysics. At the faintest whiff of dialectics, they stick the communist label on you. In south Korea, Lao Tzu, Confucius, Jesus, the Buddha, anybody and everybody concerned with fundamental truth or essential reality would be a communist.

I said above that it would be premature to categorize "Chang Il Tam." But I can say that it is not

socialist réalism, a vehicle for Marxist ideas. The work is apocalyptic, prophetic, full of allegory, mystery, and symbolism. I use supernatural occurrences and fanciful events conjured up by the sensitivity and imagination of peasants and workers. I dab in a touch of the abstract with bizarre illusions. I use death, chaos, insecurity, terror, revolution, despair, melancholy, atrocities, executions and decadence to create the overall tone. I attempt to describe a ghastly, bloodsoaked, transitional period by the use of furious language and violent incidents. My work bears no resemblance to the pallid tone, naturalistic descriptions, and realistic plots of socialist writing. There are no romances between steelworkers and their blast furnaces in "Chang Il Tam."

This is what I am working on. It is far from finished. Nevertheless, the government says it was written "to aid the North." What can I say? There has been much publicity recently about the government's "Five Year Plan to Encourage Literature." But what they are doing to me is how they really "encourage" literature.

Let's look at the second allegation. I had notes for a play called "Maltuk" about a day laborer by that name who fights against the bourgeoisie. The police and KCIA insist that this is Marxist writing which calls for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie by workers and peasants. They are so eager to find communists that they react like Pavlov's dog to the word "bourgeoisie" and neurotically reach for the Anti-Communist Law. Just because Marx called a flower a flower, am I supposed to call it something else?

The word "bourgeoisie" is an internationally accepted historical term. If the mere use of the word, or the expression of contempt for something "bourgeois" proves a person is a communist, where does that leave France's George Bernanos who said, "I hate the bourgeoisie"? One hardly need cite foreign examples. Don't we hear the word every day as a half-humorous term for the rich? That is how I used it. To be more exact, my use of the word "bourgeoisie" has the limited meaning of the "corrupt ruling elite" who dominate South Korea. They are synonymous with the "Five Bandits."

"Maltuk" is based on the rebellious servant character in traditional mask dramas. The plot evolves from a popular protest against corruption and privilege. The protagonist is a laborer but he is not trying to start a revolution to impose a dictatorship of the proletariat. I am trying to portray a rebel from the lowest stratum of society, far lower than organized industrial workers, in fact. My idea was to make my hero a "debased *chonmin*," a stratum shunned by society as subhuman. He is a typical dehumanized south Korean, spiritually and physically robbed of his manhood. I want to describe his despair and the divine inspiration that rescues him. I will show the "reciprocal effect of action and prayer" which leads him to resist and regain his human dignity. I placed this interaction in Maltuk, a "rebellious, sweaty, dirty south Korean peasant" and stressed hope. I tried to describe a certain world of "community" which appears in the resultant eschatological vision. This is also an visionary manifestation of

an oppression-free society, the eternal theme of true art. The drama is sustained by an imagination rooted in Christian eschatology; it is not derived from any political ideology. The allegation that it was written "to aid the North" could not be more preposterous.

I want to explain why I wrote "Five Bandits," "Groundless Rumors," "Chang Il Tam," "Maltuk" and other works. So they could be used by someone? No. Because I wanted to write them. I had no choice. They were deep inside me, stirring, swirling. I had to let them burst out. I wrote because I had to. That was the only reason.

Next, the "People's Revolutionary Party" matter. I wrote about the torture of Ha Jae Wan and I held a press conference to ask for the release of the "PRP" prisoners. The government terms these actions as "support for the propaganda activities of the North" that "benefited the People's Revolutionary Party, a subversive organization."

For the sake of argument, let's say that my statement about the torture of the "PRP" prisoners was identical with the North Korean "propaganda" on the case. The question really is, did I "support" their version or did they "support" mine? They did not meet Ha Jae Wan. I met him and I heard his story directly from him. I just told the world what I heard. I did not say on the basis of a North Korean broadcast, Ha Jae Wan was tortured. Does similarity of content mean "support"? If it does, thousands of ordinary citizens, intellectuals, religious leaders, students and politicians who demanded the "release of

the democratic leaders" arrested in 1974 must be fellow travelers, since the North certainly must have advocated the same thing. Don't they all have to be charged under the Anti-Communist Law? Hasn't this nonsense gone too far?

Did I speak out to help the "People's Revolutionary Party, a subversive organization"? How could that possibly have been my reason? I knew certain facts which every person in this country needed to know. I made those horrible facts public in the interests of civil rights and democracy in South Korea. Consider my position. I had no connection with the "PRP" and I did not even know the prisoners. I was aware of course that the Pak regime would retaliate against me. Why should I go so far just to help a subversive organization? Didn't I have anything better to do? The government as usual has a ready explanation. They say I called the PRP case a "fabrication" to conceal my own "communist sympathies"! Unless my memory is wrong, even the Prime Minister is supposed to have said in the National Assembly, "Kim Ji Ha is not a communist." The KCIA assertion that I was trying to hide my "procommunist sympathies" is absurdly illogical. Claiming the government had trumped-up charges against the "PRP" men would obviously bring me under suspicion.

I know the "PRP" men were tortured. What is the KCIA anyway? We all know they have tortured students and opposition party National Assembly members. Recently the national assembly floor leader of the ruling Democratic Republican Party revealed

that he also had been tortured by the KCIA. That is how they function; brutality and terror are their standard operating procedure. Anyone who thinks the "PRP" prisoners, who were being set up as communists for execution, were not tortured ought to have his head examined. I spoke only about facts I heard with my own ears and saw with my own eyes; facts I am absolutely certain of.

Was the "PRP" a subversive organization? Was there really a "PRP"? My suspicions have not been resolved by the Pak regime's pronouncements. If the government wants me to accept its version and to convince the public that I was wrong, they should bring back to life the eight men executed on April 9. Or perhaps they can call the ghosts of Ha Jae Wan and Li Su Byong to testify on the state's behalf. I want to challenge the legality of these "PRP"-related charges.

Finally, we come to the most absurd item in the indictment, that some of the books in my storage shed were a threat to the state. The magazines *Hanyang* and *Chongmaek* I read in 1964. Mao's *On Practice* and *On Contradiction* I read about 1969. I read these books and put them away years ago. How did these volumes gathering dust in my shed help North Korea?

5. To All Who Cherish Freedom and Justice

I believe that all who oppose repression and dictatorship and defend freedom, justice and the rights of conscience still remain committed to the struggle against the corrupt Pak regime. When I was released from prison on February 15, I reconfirmed my vow to resist this dictatorship as long as I live. I have explained in this statement the spurious charges against me. All those who know me will disregard any kind of slander against me at variance with this statement. Your understanding comforts me.

My prison notebooks contain ample proof that this statement is true. Furthermore, prison was not easy for me. But I gained precious experiences and inspiration through my fellowship with the other prisoners, supposedly the dregs of our society. The notebooks are not just about me; the truth about this period of our history is also there. I hope you can prevent their destruction.

Why have we been fighting against the Pak regime? For human liberation. To recover the manhood God gave us, to be free men. Nothing is more important. We must press ahead. We will not be stopped. We shall overcome.

A corrupt, immortal dictatorship is the greatest spur to communism. What better argument do the communists have than the Pak regime? Dictatorial

rule will never make South Korea secure. A country is strong and viable only when its people are defending their freedom.

If we have no basic rights or representative government, what is there for us to defend? Our hopeless privation and disease, our endless despair and humiliation? Are we to risk our lives for these? In every neighborhood and village we must shout our opposition to this sterile dilemma.

We are not alone in this struggle. Men and women all over the world concerned with freedom will generously support our struggle. Our age demands truth and the passion to endure the suffering necessary to learn the truth.

We want to be free. To taste, feel and transmit to our children the freedom so long promised in South Korea. We must commit everything we are and hope to be to this noble cause. My prayers are with all of you in the courageous struggle.

POSTSCRIPT

Just before I was arrested in March the authorities searched my country house and the home where my child was staying. They seized four or five of my private notebooks. At first I wasn't sure what they were after, but the interrogator's questions provided a clue. They asked, "Weren't you asked to write a poem about the Kim Dae Jung kidnapping?" and "Where is that manuscript?"

I am not allowed to receive visitors or mail, to write anything, or even read the Bible. I cannot move

around very much. This gloomy, cramped cell is a bit less than seven feet by seven.

I sit here in the dark angrily thinking about the uncertain future. But prison has not dimmed my spirits. These miserable conditions and the endless waiting have made me more determined than ever.

I feel a quiet composure, almost serenity. But I am terribly worried about what may happen to the individuals involved in making this statement public. My friends, please help these good people.

Do not grieve for me.

We will surely see each other again soon.

May, 1975

“I’M DETERMINED TO DISCLOSE THIS ATROCITY AT THE RISK OF MY LIFE”

**—A Testimony Given in June 1976 at
the US House Foreign Relations
Committee—**

Kim Mun Ha

Publisher of the South Korean
Newspaper *Sinhan Minbo* in
the USA

Respected Chairman and all committeemen,

I should like to express first my deep regards to you for giving a number of hearings to the illegal and arrogant acts of the KCIA men in the US at a most proper time for not only Korean-Americans but also all other Americans.

Indeed, these hearings naturally acquire a special meaning because the KCIA men in the US are now perpetrating too numerous atrocities on this land and the influence of their villainous acts is too great, and because this is a matter of great concern of the US government and people.

Firstly, the KCIA men, having deprived the south Koreans of all freedoms and succeeded in driving

them like cows and pigs in south Korea, are now turning the world of Korean-Americans in the US into the same hellish society as south Korea, threatening, blackmailing, intimidating and assaulting them through their intelligence network.

These Korean-Americans are being deprived of their fundamental rights of speech, assembly and belief in the US society. They are now groaning in agony, unable to plead or express their sufferings.

Los Angeles where I am living has the largest population of Koreans in the US. Placed under the KCIA control, they quietly call Los Angeles the second Seoul, south Korean Consul-General in Los Angeles President, and KCIA head in charge of the Los Angeles district commander of the forces enforcing martial law in the same district.

Now Los Angeles is not a US soil for the south Korean compatriots. It has been turned into a south Korean soil. Mayor of Los Angeles is not Lom Bradley but Consul-General Pak Yong.

Secondly, the KCIA men are bribing and degenerating US politicians, press men, professors, scholars and religious men with wine and girls in the US, too, just as they had done in south Korea.

To our surprise, they are also prying into the US politics; especially they are going to exert their influence on the US politics by making pro-south Korean candidates successful and anti-south Korean ones unsuccessful in the congressional election. In this way they are working hard to corrupt the US politics and society and force great calamities upon the people of this country.

In short, the activity of the KCIA in the US is more dangerous than an A-bomb not only to the south Korean compatriots but to the US government and people.

Now, on the basis of my own experience and what happened mainly in the Los Angeles district where I'm living, I should like to touch upon KCIA men's influence on the society of south Korean compatriots in America and the society of Americans. I am a publisher and concurrently an editor of *Sinhan Minbo* (*New Korea*), a leading Korean newspaper. This newspaper had first been published in San Francisco as the first Korean paper in the US and served for the compatriots by the end of 1960's.

Before coming to America I finished Yonsei University and got a job in *Choson Ilbo*, a most influential daily of long standing, and acted for Chairman of the South Korean Journalists' Society from March 1969 to March 1970 and then for Chairman of the same society as its First Vice-Chairman from March to December 1971, the year when Kim Dae Jung, presidential candidate put up by the New Democratic Party, was contending with Pak Jung Hi for the presidential post. From January to June 1972, I was director of the Korean Press Centre. While acting for Chairman of the South Korean Journalists' Society as its Vice-Chairman in April 1971, I organized and directed the first nation-wide struggle in defence of the freedom of speech. Already at that time the KCIA planted its men in the newspaper offices, broadcasting stations and news agencies to meddle in the news coverage. They walked off, tortured and

imprisoned more and more men of the press who were going to report facts and truth and criticize injustice. This was more than the journalists of newspaper offices, broadcasting stations and news agencies could bear. So, we rose up on a nationwide scale with each company as a unit against the unjust interference and control by KCIA men and against their unwarranted access to and usual presence in those agencies, and in demand of the freedom of the press. Because of this movement I and other leading workers of the South Korean Journalists' Society and major leaders responsible for the movement were walked off to the KCIA time and again to be questioned and threatened. KCIA men searched my house many times, scaring my wife and children out of their wits. The prime movers of this movement were all chased out of companies. I myself was forced to resign from the post of First Vice-Chairman and Deputy Chairman of the Journalists' Society. And I was demoted in the company, too.

Soon afterwards, there came the presidential emergency measures. As a man of the press I could do nothing in south Korea. So, in June 1972 I came over to the US to stay in Los Angeles as a correspondent for the daily *Choson Ilbo*. In August 1973 I decided to live in the US, got transferred to the Los Angeles branch of the daily *Tonga Ilbo* and worked as chief editor of *American Tonga* published by this branch. In that new post, too, I was astonished to find the fact that the Korean newspaper and broadcasting companies in the US were in the same circumstances as in south Korea. In those days

there were *Hanguk Ilbo*, *Tonga Ilbo*, *Miju Sinmun*, *Sinhan Minbo* and the Korean TV Broadcasting Station in Los Angeles. All these were meddled in and directed by the consulate-general of south Korea in Los Angeles. They were under the direct control of two men—the consul and vice-consul of the consulate-general dispatched by the KCIA. The newspaper articles and ads were censored by them and any violator of their directive was subject to their intimidation. Their media of intimidation were the removal of the condition for residence in the US through the recall to the homeland or the refusal of extension of passports, and mobilization of terrorists to threaten personal safety. Nearly one year I too was subjected to their interference and menace. In July 1974 I resigned chief editor of *American Tonga* with firm determination. In August that year I took over *Sinhan Minbo* and decided to mount press activity in defence of the rights and interests of the Korean compatriots in the US who were tormented by the KCIA men, for the promotion of the prosperity of the Korean-US Community and for the exaltation of freedom and democracy which were repressed by the KCIA even in the US.

This is not the south Korean soil but the US soil. The Koreans here are not nationals of the south Korean government but US citizens or in the process of becoming US citizens.

Most of them immigrated into the US from south Korea against the dictator and in quest of freedom. It is intolerable for them to be ruled and have their rights and freedom violated even here.

I was also resolved to work for south Korea, my motherland, and my nation and for the restoration of the rights of the south Koreans and the realization of social justice.

This resolve of mine was instantly reflected in *Sinhan Minbo*.

South Korean compatriots in the US warmly welcomed this spirit of the press and my newspaper was hailed as a defender of human rights and as the Gospel of democracy.

Under such situation, the Los Angeles consulate-general and the KCIA seemed to appease me at first.

In September 1974 Pak Yong, Consul-General in Los Angeles, made the south Korean government invite me and then sent me a return airline ticket.

The consul who handed over the ticket to me said that I would be warmly received by the government in south Korea.

But I refused that "warm reception" and sent back the ticket. He more than once sent me the press attache of the consulate-general who tried to coerce me to refrain from criticizing their unlawful and arrogant acts and the suppression of the human rights by the south Korean government.

I ignored this, too. Now the consul and vice-consul dispatched by the KCIA called me out at length to "Fair Garden," a Korean restaurant in Los Angeles and openly intimidated me. It was around March 1974. I can't remember the exact date.

They warned me that I would pay dear if I continued to report the activity of those critical of the KCIA and the inhuman measures of the south Ko-

rean government. I stubbornly refused to heed their warning. One month later, around April, Consul-General Pak Yong, consul Choe Yon Ho in charge of the KCIA in Los Angeles at the time and press attache Li Song Chol called me out to "Grand Garden," another Korean restaurant in Los Angeles. They raised the same demand and especially forced me not to criticize Pak Jung Hi himself.

Then they handed over to me a concocted paper abusing Admiral Li Yong Un, the former Chief of the General Staff of the south Korean Navy who had striven for the restoration of democracy in south Korea, and pressed me to carry it in my newspaper.

Respected Chairman,

I will present here a copy of that slanderous paper as a material evidence. Seeing me not bowing to their direct threat and demand, they took the gloves off and started clamping down on me and my newspaper office in a cunning, yet cruel manner.

Firstly, they prevented me from carrying ads—a measure they had successfully taken early in 1975 against *Tonga Ilbo*, the greatest south Korean daily, that had fought for the freedom of the press. They invited enterprisers and men of influence in Los Angeles to a golf club or a party and told them not to help me and *Sinhan Minbo*, forcing them to withdraw ads.

Consul-General Pak Yong organized an information council with south Korean government officials and enterprisers in Los Angeles and became its chairman. Then he instructed its members not to place ads in *Sinhan Minbo* and not to help it in its work.

Pressed by such measures the Korean Airlines repealed its ad contract. On July 31, 1975 it had made a contract to place its ads for 26 weeks at 1,430 dollars. But a few weeks later its ad agent accompanied by a reporter called at my office and notified me of the cancellation of the ad. He said it was the order from the head office in Seoul to its branch office in Los Angeles. He expressed his great regret at being unable to give me an account of why the ad contract should have been cancelled. He added, "But you would know the reason well." He solicited me to pass over in silence, saying he would get his cards if I reported or made an issue of it. Yes, I know the reason well, so do all south Koreans.

The KCIA men in Los Angeles have to report on news coverage to their superiors in Seoul regularly and whenever an important event takes place, and to rely on them for the handling of a matter which can be hardly disposed of on the spot.

Respected Chairman,

I present here a copy of the ad contract cancelled by the Korean Airlines as evidence and for keeping a record. Other advertisers, too, withdrew their ad contracts or curtailed the amount.

The greatest trouble was that new advertisers placed ads in other newspapers and TVs for fear of being revenged by the KCIA men.

They told me: "Your work is just and we feel like inserting ads in your newspaper. But it is a pity that we are unable to do it. We should first defend our lives and business."

One real proprietor begged me to cancel his ad

because he could no longer stand their pressure. Otherwise, he pleaded, he would sustain heavy losses.

My income from ads began to drop.

Secondly, they ordered the owners of restaurants and foodstuff stores in Los Angeles not to exhibit the books I had published to make up the loss in the ad income.

They were collections of the writings of Kim Dae Jung who was arrested a few days ago owing to the case of the Declaration for Democracy and National Salvation and of poems of jailed Kim Ji Ha. On the above order the owner of a food stuff store quickly returned those books and others put them into places closed to the view or bought them all by themselves and removed them.

Thirdly, they put pressure on the members of the Korean festival executive committee and others concerned not to let my *Sinhan Minbo* cover the "children's performances" which had been given in Los Angeles for two years on in celebration of the Korean Festival and dealt with exclusively by my newspaper.

They also hindered my work by preventing in every way the compatriots from participating in every event sponsored by my newspaper office.

They launched vile, sinister propaganda which is most terrible to Koreans.

Kang Gi Chon, ex-Commander of the "ROK" Marine Corps and currently assemblyman belonging to the Revitalization Political Council, called at me around August 1975.

Saying that he visited me at the request of Sin

Jik Su, Director of the KCIA, and Minister of Culture and Public Information, he proposed to offer 100,000 dollars to me as newspaper funds on the condition that I stopped criticizing the south Korean government.

He warned that if I refused the last proposal a great retaliation would be inflicted on me. I turned it down then and there. Immediately after his return to south Korea, a man, who had close connection with the KCIA-dispatched consuls of the Los Angeles consulate-general and was known as a secret intelligence agent, invited me to a Korean restaurant named "Kyonghoeru" and advanced the following three-point proposal, conveying the final note of the KCIA:

Firstly, you should receive the additional newspaper fund, instead of criticizing the south Korean government, or occupy a responsible government post if you want; secondly, you should sell off or shut down your newspaper office and keep quiet; thirdly, otherwise, you shall be retaliated.

I asked him about the third point—how shall I be retaliated?

At first, he replied, I would be isolated from the community of the compatriots.

I refused all the three points. Soon after that Consul-General Pak Yong and others in Los Angeles opened the vials of invectives, branding me as a Communist. This "Communist" brand is fatal to south Koreans.

They are putting pressure on the Korean compatriots' organizations and men of influence not to

invite me and staff members of my newspaper office to their events, and spreading the word that any visitors to my newspaper office would be suspected of being Communists. This has caused much loss and trouble to me in my newspaper publication and created an atmosphere of terror.

Due to this atmosphere of terror many of my friends and supporters have dropped out of me and my two staff members have gone out of office. When I advertised for journalists, ad writers and other staff members, no one responded to it for fear of them.

Their suppression is not confined to me and my newspaper office. In the case of another newspaper office in Los Angeles, they are tightening their control over it by dint of the criminal law which was revised early in 1975 to forbid foreigners from criticizing the south Korean government organs, and in the open form of "warning notices" following the proclamation of Presidential Emergency Decree No. 9. A journalist, chief editor or manager would be punished if he gets a "warning" repeatedly.

Pro-government newspapers in Los Angeles are under the control of a new consul, a KCIA agent in charge of the press, who had once worked in Tokyo.

Most of their newsmen had once worked with me or are my juniors in journalism. So they personally or privately inform me of what they suffer.

But they are afraid of retaliation and almost all of them decline to present themselves as my witnesses. This is indeed a big problem.

The KCIA men are also scheming to chain the

community of the compatriots to various organizations to control them.

KCIA agents and those under the KCIA influence have formed various organizations in the Los Angeles region in an attempt to isolate those critical of the south Korean government and sow division among the Korean compatriots.

They are also stretching their hands to the existing autonomous organizations of Korean compatriots in their effort to bring them under their control.

For instance, there is a hall of Koreans in south California, whose building was bought with a raised fund. To bring this hall under his control and own its building, Consul-General Pak Yong organized its management committee by a coercive method and became its member.

He maintained that he should share the ownership of that building on behalf of the south Korean government which had contributed 15 dollars. However, many compatriots opposed the intervention of the consul-general as they hoped that the hall would be outside any political influence for their free use of it.

In this context, a Korean businessman who had made the greatest contribution to the purchase of the hall took legal proceedings. But Consul-General Pak Yong and KCIA men pressed him to withdraw the complaint.

The foreign diplomat is sharing the ownership of a hall of Korean-Americans and controlling its use. This, even if it is legitimate, is a pressure brought by the dictatorial regime to bear upon Americans.

You should take issue on this point, I think.

Respected Chairman,

I present here an article of my newspaper concerning that hall to put it on record. As mentioned above, the KCIA is penetrating even into the American community to manipulate it.

To take one example. It was expected to hold a dinner party for opening an election fund for Senator J.V. Turney at the "Ambassador Hotel" in Los Angeles on September 12 last under the auspices of the "Society of Senator Turney's Friends" organized with Koreans. Two acquaintances relating to that party told me that the party was planned by the KCIA-dispatched consuls of the consulate-general in Los Angeles to reelect Senator Turney by offering him a campaign fund and make him close to the south Korean government, and that its attendants would have to pay 100 dollars for each dish.

Those consuls would pay for the moneyless attendants and would force those with business relations with south Korea to attend the party. The name of Consul-General Pak Yong was on one of the invitation cards issued to honoured guests.

After ascertaining this fact, we informed Senator Turney's offices in Los Angeles and in Washington of it. He declared he would not attend that party. It thus fell through.

This news was reported in newspapers, and the name of the man who had had a hotel room reserved for the party was struck out.

And it is said that American pressmen in Los Angeles were invited to south Korea by them and

warmly received there. Service was all free, of course. But it was intended to tone down criticism by placating the American pressmen in the Los Angeles district where many Korean compatriots live. It is said that they will continue to employ such invitation diplomacy.

When I was first retaliated by the south Korean government officials and KCIA agents, I could hardly repress my wrath. But I was overcome by fear and unable to make a word of it. The cruelty of the KCIA is known too well. Anyone who was hated by it is liable to lose his life. So, I have to keep mum.

The KCIA kidnapped more than 30 Koreans in West Germany, Britain, France and the United States in June 1967. They abducted political leader Kim Dae Jung in Tokyo in broad daylight on August 8, 1973 and threw him behind bars on the 11th. They tortured to death Prof. Choe Jong Gil of Seoul National University's Law School, who had finished Harvard University, and executed innocent students and eight people, branding them as communist spies.

They more than once sent me persons under their influence to intimidate me. In fact, they are threatening me with a word that I would be kidnapped at any time by KCIA men who frequently ride the Korean Airliner flying between Seoul and Los Angeles. What is worse, they may wreak their vengeance upon my parents, brothers and children in south Korea. This thought kept me dumb.

However, I can't stand this any longer. I know that many panic-stricken Koreans are failing to utter

a word like me. It is simply vexing to think they should live in the depths of fear even on this land. I have offered a prayer, drawn courage from God and come to a decision. Defying death, I must expose the wanton atrocities of the KCIA agents and south Korean government officials and contribute myself to bringing true freedom and peace on this land.

Here is my newspaper exposing their atrocities. It should be put on record.

I ask the US government and people to stop all illegal activities of the south Korean government officials in this country, take appropriate measures and expel all those responsible for such activities from this land.

I also ask them to take measures so that not only the Korean compatriots but also Americans can enjoy a happy life free from the orders of Pak Jung Hi and from terror caused by his stooges.

KIM DAE JUNG IS SOLD FOR 300 MILLION YEN

Chong Gyong Mo

Editor-in-Chief of *Minjok Sibo*

Here I boldly impeach the shady dealings between the Japanese and south Korean governments and appeal to the peoples of the two countries for brave solidarity and action.

TANAKA IS THE SELLER, PAK JUNG HI IS THE BUYER

The Lockheed scandal which is now much talked of is after all an illegal bargain of aircraft.

“Apply pressure on so-and-so to buy such-and-such aircraft. If things go well you shall be paid.” Someone asked a dignitary who Okeyed readily. The latter abused his official authority and the bargain proved nice. He got a bribe on the sly. What a mean story!

But the object of the bargain this time is not

aircraft. It is the "traffic" of a human life. The victim is now locked up in prison just like an ox to be dragged out to the butchery, and his life is at stake. Who then is the victim? He is none other than Kim Dae Jung. The price is 300 million *yen*. The buyer is Pak Jung Hi and the seller is Tanaka, ex-Prime Minister of Japan. What a shocking story! Following Kim's abduction a "political compact" was formed between them by the transaction of 300 million *yen*.

On November 2, 1973, the year of Kim's kidnapping, south Korean Prime Minister Kim Jong Pil came to Tokyo and met Tanaka in his official mansion located in Nagata sub-ward. His special mission was to give an apology. At that time Tanaka suggested to Kim Jong Pil: "On our part too, Kim Dae Jung's restoration to his original status is not wanted." He added that Japan had nothing to say more about the Kim Dae Jung case. Tanaka's pocket was already stuffed with 300 million *yen* when he croaked that there was no need to send Kim Dae Jung back to Japan.

OSANO AND CHO JUNG HUN ACT AS GO-BETWEENS

When the Lockheed case caused quite a stir in Japan the south Korean side showed a few moves which were very suspicious to me. Kim Jong Pil stole into Tokyo late February when it was agog with the

rumours about the Lockheed scandal. As his visit required top secrecy, there was no news report of it except the brief of *Asahi Journal* dated March 5 that "an important person of prime ministerial caliber has come to Japan from south Korea." It was a puzzle to me why Kim Jong Pil sneaked into Tokyo just like a stray cat stealing into a kitchen noiselessly at the risk of its life.

And this is not all. Osano Kenji had not come straight to Tokyo when he returned to Japan from Hawaii. He visited south Korea on the way back. During the parliamentary interpellations on February 16, Osano was questioned why he had stopped over in south Korea. His reply was that he had had no particular business. Asked whether he had met Cho Jung Hun, he first affected ignorance, saying, "What is Cho Jung Hun?" Hinted that he is Director of the Korean Air Lines, Osano remarked curtly, "O, yes. I met him a while." In fact he met Cho long and left south Korea together with him by the same plane to arrive at Osaka airport.

Had Lockheed aircraft been successfully sold to KAL, Kodama's hand would have been greased while Cho Jung Hun must have taken a bribe through Osano. But KAL had not yet purchased Lockheed aircraft by that time. So, there must have been no such bribery. What then did impel Kim Jong Pil and Cho Jung Hun to steal into Japan where the Lockheed scandal was under heavy fire? This was also a puzzle to me. But it was undone. Both were scared into making such flying trips. The hidden truth behind them came out. It was none other than

Cho Jung Hun, Pak Jung Hi's sidekick, who was out to hush up the Kim Dae Jung case. And it was none other than Osano Kenji, Tanaka's crony, who acted as a middleman in cramming Tanaka's pocket with 300 million *yen*.

As a saying has it, birds of a feather flock together. Osano and Cho are alike in many points.

Like Osano Cho worked his way up from the "lowest echelon." They say Cho had got only public schooling. He had been a lorry driver. After World War II he started carrying water for the US Eighth Army stationed in south Korea. US army men didn't take "polluted" water though it was drunk by south Koreans. They carried their drinking water by trucks from a clear pond specially arranged for them. Cho's firm named Hanjin took up this transport.

There is a small castle gate called Chaha north of the Seoul city. Its surroundings are lovely, covered with pine woods, nice for a villa residence. A little way down a hillock past the Chaha Gate there appears on the left a fine Western-style house built of white granite. It is Cho's villa built with the aim of entertaining Americans with wine and girls. Keeping close association with Americans, the Hanjin Firm made a pile of money, transporting drinking water and disposing of American military supplies. And it was the Vietnam war that made Cho the first-rate plutocrat of south Korea.

KAL headed by Cho monopolized the airlift of south Korean troops dispatched to Vietnam. The planes used in that airlift were borrowed from JAL in which Osano Kenji was largest stockholder. Thus

both Cho and Osano were hitched up through a natural route.

INSIDE VIEW OF SOUTH KOREA-JAPAN DEVELOPMENT

There is also a striking analogy between Pak Jung Hi and Tanaka Kakuei. Tanaka had served the sixth army jurisdiction when Pak was mopping up Koreans in Manchuria, adopting the Japanese name of Okamoto Minoru or Takagi Masao.

Tanaka had also been in that army jurisdiction at that time. They are, so to speak, contemporaries in active service. Both distinguished themselves by swearing their allegiance to the Emperor with the word that they would fall like cherry blossoms for the creation of a "Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere." There is much talk about south Korea-Japan "adhesion." This "adhesion" is by no means an ideological concept. Its concrete form can be found in the "axis" linking Pak, Cho, Osano and Tanaka.

There is a gorgeous hotel in Sogwipo of Cheju Island. A sumptuous feast is held every night there. It is a place of drinking, gambling and prostitution. Japanese tourists are made there to taste the "sweetness of life" to their heart's content. This hotel is jointly owned by Osano Kenji and Cho Jung Hun. As a south Korea-Japan joint firm bearing the sign-board of "South Korea-Japan Development," it

is financed by Osano and Cho and its president is Kishi Nobusuke.

The hotel ground amounts to seven million *pyong*. It was sold off by the south Korean government for a song—14 *won* or 10 *yen* per *pyong*. Korean women there are forced to sell their chastity to foreigners. This is a quisling, I should say.

Ten per cent of the shareholders of KAL bossed by Cho Jung Hun are in the hands of Osano Kenji. KAL is the only state aviation and forwarding company of south Korea. Any state aviation company is a pride and honour of a given country. It is hardly imaginable to sell its stocks to a foreigner. Is it possible for JAL whose largest stockholder is Osano to sell ten per cent of its stocks to a south Korean? No. It is quite impossible. Even Osano is owning no more than one per cent of its stocks, though he is its heaviest stockholder, I hear.

The Pak regime acts as a pimp for the Japanese for a few dollars and makes no scruples of selling stocks of KAL, the state forwarding company, to a foreigner like Osano. Any sober-minded Korean would lose his temper with such a political regime. The name of KAL itself is humiliating. I feel a strong urge to name it after Osano here and now.

The current south Korea-Japan relations must be most favourable for those Japanese who are in the same category with Osano. They travel to south Korea in airplanes arranged by Osano through JAL or KAL. After spending happy days in Osano's hotel playing for money or with girls, they travel back to Japan also in Osano's planes. Hence they wish the

Pak regime only to remain safe.

Another observation should be made in passing on the "Cheju Island Development Plan" which has given birth to the "South Korea-Japan Development." It was mapped out by the "Overseas Technical Cooperation" under the command and supervision of the Japanese Ministries of Foreign Affairs and Transportation. It was made public in March 1972. At that time the mutual relations between Tanaka's authority, Osano's investment in south Korea designed to violate the chastity of Korean women, and Pak's eager hunting for a channel to Tanaka could be likened to those between "notarial allowance, *insam* and a bawdy house."

FLATTERY TO TANAKA'S CAMP

Now let me get back to Kim Dae Jung and tell how a bid of 300 million *yen* was made for his life.

Ranard was the head of the office of Korean affairs of the US State Department when the Kim Dae Jung incident occurred in August 1973. In his statement at the public hearing of the Frazer Committee held on March 14 last and on other occasions he stressed the two points. One was that the kidnapping of Kim Dae Jung requiring the involvement of so much material and human resources could be conducted by none but the KCIA, and the other was that it would have been impossible even for the KCIA

had there been no help from the Japanese side, which served as a lubricant.

The Pak regime, I think, must have expected good help from the Japanese side in hijacking Kim Dae Jung unlike in 1968 when a similar case took place in West Germany. But things did not just as it had expected. It failed to reckon with the force of the Japanese public opinion. It was at its wit's end in face of the strong public censure which was erupted like an active volcano.

It was hardly possible even for the Japanese side to meet the Pak regime's desire by hushing up the Kim Dae Jung incident and turning down the public demand for his restoration to the original status. There were two troubles for the Pak regime in hushing up the Kim Dae Jung case. One was that Pak Jung Hi failed to send his due regards to the Tanaka camp at the time of the Fukuda-Tanaka duel, that is, the 1972 presidential election for the Liberal Democratic Party, believing in Fukuda's return. So there had been no arbitrator of government level, who would intercede between Pak and Tanaka.

Another trouble was that the south Korean government was in no position to ask the Japanese government through a diplomatic route to hush up the Kim Dae Jung incident, because the former had notified the latter of its innocence with regard to Kim's abduction.

On August 10, 1973, two days after Kim's kidnapping, south Korean ambassador to Japan Li Ho visited the Japanese Foreign Ministry, met Vice-Minister Norime, and notified that the south Korean

government had neither part nor lot in Kim's kidnapping. He even had the cheek to demand that Kim Dae Jung's whereabouts be located quickly and his personal safety be ensured. It is believed that even brazenfaced Pak Jung Hi had found it hard to repeal that rash notification and ask through another diplomatic route the Japanese government to "properly deal with" the Kim Dae Jung incident.

Thus Pak started searching for a man who would be equal to bringing round Tanaka privately not through a secret government channel. Cho Jung Hun, Director of KAL, was cut out for the job after all. At Pak's secret bidding, Cho made a shuttle trip between Seoul and Tokyo and did his damndest to prepare a script for the "successful disposal" of the Kim Dae Jung case. Needless to say, Osano Kenji did all he could as go-between at the time. An "agreement" was reached between Tanaka and Cho and the bargain of 300 million *yen* struck between the two.

TRANSACTION IN SEPT. OR OCT. 1973?

It is noteworthy here that Kishi Nobusuke, President of the "South Korea-Japan Development," appeared on the scene on September 27, 1973. That day he flew to Seoul and the next day on the 28th had a talk with Pak Jung Hi. There is no way to turn that talk inside out. But there is no ground to

believe that Kishi's visit to Seoul at that very juncture had nothing to do with the Kim Dae Jung case. It was hardly possible for Kishi to go to Seoul without any idea of the Tanaka-Cho "agreement." Anyhow the script for "political" compact was completed and on October 26 Kim Dae Jung appeared at the press conference approved by the south Korean government. There he stated through his own lips, "I have no intention to go abroad." Six days later on November 1, the south Korean government declared, "Mr. Kim Dae Jung is free both inside and outside the country." Synchronizing with this, the Japanese government expressed its approval for Kim's "liberty." On November 2 Kim Jong Pil came to Tokyo and called at the Prime Minister's official residence to make an "apology" blended with the note of gratitude. Yes, Kim Jong Pil must have been very grateful for Prime Minister Tanaka who advanced the happy suggestion that there was no need to send Kim Dae Jung back to Japan and that he could be disposed of by the south Korean government at will. And it was not a bad bargain for Tanaka either. His pocket had already been filled with 300 million *yen* by that time.

Here I would like to gratify my penological business sense for a while. When was that sum of money handed over? It is almost unquestionable that it should have been transferred within the period covering from September 28 when Kishi met Pak Jung Hi to October 26 when Kim Dae Jung was freed from his domiciliary confinement and appeared at the government-approved press conference. To minify

the scope a bit and count the number of Cho's entries into Japan in that period it would be conducive to guessing the exact date of the transfer. I think there may be the probable error of less than 48 hours between the date of Cho's last entry into Japan and the time of his handing over the money.

After the Kim Dae Jung incident took place I contributed an article entitled, "Solidarity between the Brazen-faced" to the October 1974 issue of *Sekai*. I wrote that article recalling the south Koreans who, standing in rows before the Imperial Hotel of Tokyo where Kim Jong Pil was staying to meet Tanaka, shouted, "Shame on you!" It is of course a shame for all south Koreans including me. South Korea is a country where a patriot is butchered by a traitor. Its present rulers are those who, as dogs of Japanese imperialism, had once been out for "mopping up" the patriotic Korean guerrillas who had taken arms and fought for the independence of our nation. But I think there's no need to be ashamed. There are the two reasons for it.

The first reason is that the south Koreans are in no position to be responsible for the presence of the current political regime. In principle, a people is finally accountable for the existence of the political regime of their country. If we follow the British way, the character of any government, good or bad, reflects the character of its people. This, however, is not true of south Korea, I think. For our people have been deprived of every means to offer resistance to the Pak regime, a wicked devilish regime which is being maintained, as everyone puts it, by the money of

Japan and the weapon of the United States.

The second reason, though somewhat contrary to the first one, is that Pak Jung Hi's wickedness represents the fortitude and strong rebellious spirit of the south Korean people.

It is said that anti-popular government assumes two aspects. It wears the mask of liberty when people's resistance is mild and its ruling foundation is rather stable. But it wields dictatorship when the force of resistance grows powerful enough to shake the ruling system from its very roots. When the Pak regime is branded as inhuman it does in no way mean that the south Korean people are inhuman.

A GREATER LEAP IS WANTED FOR PEOPLE'S SOLIDARITY MOVEMENT

We south Koreans are not responsible for the presence of the Pak regime, I repeat. And the latter's moral character does not reflect the former's moral character. Moreover, the south Korean people are powerful and the foundation of the south Korean ruling power is in the process of crumbling. That is why the Pak regime has stripped off its mask of liberty and revealed its ugly look of fascism, its intrinsic attribute.

Proceeding from these two points of view, I wish the Japanese friends to build up a hope that there will be a leaping advance in the south Korea-Japan

solidarity movement in a new dimension.

The Japanese people should grow stouter first of all. They should be aware of the fictitious nature of the liberty of the Japanese society granted by a political party which was set up by Hatoyama Ichiro with the funds amassed by Kotama Yoshio at the cost of the blood of the Chinese people. This "liberty" is precious and may bring forth a political power representing the true virtue of the Japanese people. When this liberty is displayed fully enough to shake the very foundation of the political power which assumes such a nasty character as dealing with Kim Dae Jung's life for 300 million *yen* in league with Pak Jung Hi, this power will probably cast off its present mask of Japanese-style liberty and reveal its ugly nature of fascism. Only then will the Japanese people be able to win true victory and start creating a new history. Only then will they be able to lay a true foundation for knitting close ties with the fighting south Korean people.

Anyway, the Japanese people should acknowledge that they unlike the south Korean people are fully accountable for the existence of the present shady political power of Japan, I think. And I also believe that bold action based on such acknowledgment alone will greatly help towards advancing solidarity between the peoples of the two countries in higher dimensions.

“PAK JUNG HI IS THE NOTORIOUS MILITARY GANGSTER”

**—Speech Made at the International
Press Conference on Korean Question
Held in Brussels, Belgium, on June
15, 1976—**

Choe Sok Nam

Commander of the “National-
salvation Reservists’ Army in
the USA” and Former Bri-
gadier General of the South
Korean Army

Ladies and Gentlemen,

First of all, I would like to express my thanks to the organizer of this conference for having invited me here to make a speech before noted journalists, public figures and the representatives of the conscientious people of the world.

I am Commander of the “Veterans Corps for National Salvation in America” and publisher and concurrently editor of this organization’s magazine *Kuguk-Hyanggun-bo*.

I served in the South Korean army for 17 years from 1946. I was a brigadier general when I was placed on the reserve list in 1962, the year after Pak

Jung Hi staged a coup d'etat.

I wrote seven books including "Naval History of Korea." In my works I paid special attention to the study of Admiral Li Sun Sin who is worth advertising in the world as a pride of our nation. He was an ardent patriot and one of those who delivered the country and people in the 16th century from Japanese aggression by defeating the Japanese fleet.

Through the study of Admiral Li Sun Sin I could have a patriotic and popular viewpoint on the history of our nation.

To me, the outrages the dictator, Pak Jung Hi, had committed since he took the "reins of government" by means of a "military coup" were intolerable, viewed from the standpoint of a patriot. I left south Korea and am now residing in America.

It was October 1972 that I set myself against the dictatorship of Pak Jung Hi and demanded the establishment of a democratic government in south Korea and the peaceful unification of the fatherland. As is well known, Pak Jung Hi carried out the second "coup" in 1972 and openly made himself the "president for life," rubbing off even the slightest signs of democracy.

I brought the "veterans of south Korean army" together in the USA and formed an association of the "Veterans Corps for National Salvation" in 1973.

Afterwards I had troubles owing to the "KCIA's" threat, intimidation or conciliatory measures. In the United States there are now some 200,000 fellow countrymen, and more than 20,000 Koreans are residing in New York where I live.

The "KCIA" is trying every available means including threat, blackmail, appeasement and disruption among the Koreans residing in New York with a view to preventing them from waging anti-Pak Jung Hi and anti-dictatorship struggle.

I do not know how many "KCIA" agents are in New York, but it is a well-known fact that a large number of "KCIA" operatives are active in the south Korean "consulate-general" and the south Korean "mission" to the United Nations, professing themselves to be "diplomats." They smuggle their agents into overseas Korean organizations, associations and churches to perpetrate subversive and obstructive activities among them.

Most of the New York branches of the south Korean firms in Seoul are under the control of the "KCIA" and used as tools in attaining its sinister objectives.

Once they are opposed to Pak Jung Hi, they cannot escape from the persecution of the "KCIA." Such Koreans with business relations with Seoul will either be cut from commercial bank loans or not be allowed to have business relations with south Korea.

Remittance to south Korean students in the USA from their families in Seoul will be stopped, and these students expelled from the United States on one pretext or another. Not only these dissidents but even their families, relatives and friends in south Korea are subjected to "KCIA's" persecution.

They are under constant police surveillance and liable to suffer examination, torture and imprison-

ment. In order to undermine the anti-Pak Jung Hi movement in America, the "KCIA" has organized among the Koreans various organizations, associations, churches, clubs and others under its control and tries to "invite" to Seoul and "warmly entertain" Korean scholars and professors so as to appease and buy them over.

Koreans are in constant fear of the "KCIA's" persecution and machinations. Such vicious activities of the "KCIA" in America are not confined to undermining and obstructive machinations against the Korean organizations. The "KCIA" is extending the sphere of its machinations even to the socio-political life of the United States.

Mun Son Myong, who recently bought in New York a large building worth 24 million dollars is an agent of the "KCIA." Financed by it, he is now conducting an extensive "anti-communism" propaganda and is active in backstage manoeuvring for more US military and economic "aid" to Pak Jung Hi.

South Korean "national assemblymen" who are the "retired generals," visited Washington on May 6, 1976, to conduct backstage manoeuvrings in order that the "bill" of 490 million dollar economic and military "aid" to south Korea was carried.

It is an evident infringement upon the sovereignty of the United States that Pak Jung Hi's "KCIA" agents stay permanently there under the masks of "diplomats" and persecute the innocent Korean residents and split their organizations.

It is the right guaranteed to us that we carry

out anti-Pak Jung Hi and anti-fascist democratic movement and strive for the independent, peaceful unification of Korea as far as the US Constitution permits.

The US government should stop the illegal activities of the "KCIA" in its country and expel all its agents from the United States. Otherwise, it can hardly preserve the feature of a "free democratic government" and cannot escape world public censure that it has an illicit connection with the Pak Jung Hi military fascist regime.

The nefarious nature of the "KCIA" was fully proved by the Kim Dae Jung kidnap case in Tokyo, Japan, in August 1973.

Of late, I was told, it plotted to abduct me in New York. In November 1975 a "delegation" of the Korean businessmen in the United States was "invited" to Seoul by Pak Jung Hi. Two of the members of the "delegation" were my acquaintances. When they met Kim Jong Pil, the husband of a niece of Pak Jung Hi and the then "Prime Minister," the "KCIA" suggested to them that they should kidnap me.

I do not know the details of this case, but I have material evidence to corroborate it. A recorded tape is in my hand.

The question of kidnapping was discussed in the "Prime Minister's" office. It seems Pak Jung Hi's brutal act has reached the extreme. I cannot repress my indignation. I think it is my duty to remind you of the fact that the "KCIA" is working as ever to invent the second and third Kim Dae Jung kidnap cases.

I know I will face the threat and blackmail of the

“KCIA” when I am back in the United States. But whatever trials I will face, I will never give up my just cause. I will continue my struggle to final victory because I believe in the justness of the struggle for democracy and the unification of my motherland.

Pak Jung Hi is a notorious military gangster. I know him very well. We left the south Korean “military academy” as second-term graduates and served in the south Korean army as “generals.”

His father was a traitor to the nation who served the Japanese invaders by the end of the Li Dynasty. Pak himself was a wicked officer of the Japanese army before liberation. He graduated from the “military academy” in Manchuria and received “special training” for “punitive operations.” He became a lieutenant of the Japanese “punitive forces” and massacred countless Korean patriots fighting against the Japanese invaders in Manchuria, thereby paying his undivided “allegiance” to the emperor of Japan.

After liberation he turned to a secret agent and slipped into the south Korean army to kill many patriotic officers and innocent people. He launched a military coup, usurped the fruit of the April 19 Uprising and became a fascist dictator. After his seizure of power, he became a billionaire at a bound through irregularities and corruption.

He rigged up a “Revitalization Constitution” behind the scene of north-south dialogue and made himself “lifetime President.” He keeps over 1 million secret agents in order to maintain his fascist rule.

The methods of torture employed by the “KCIA” are most atrocious, and there may be no match in

the world for brutality and atrocity. The whole land of south Korea has been turned into a prison, and the people are in wretched plight, their mouths gagged, their ears closed and their eyes blindfolded.

Pak Jung Hi is a brutal profiteer. He has destroyed the national economy and ushered in foreign monopoly capital so that the comprador capitalists can swagger about.

The total foreign loan contracted by the Pak Jung Hi regime by 1974 was estimated at 8,500 million dollars. Of it, 20-30 per cent was seized by Pak Jung Hi himself and a similar proportion went into the hands of high-ranking officials of south Korea and of those countries which granted the "credits." As a result, 85 per cent of enterprises set up with foreign loans have become unfaithful ones and the total sum of debt is imposed on the ordinary people in the form of taxes.

Since 1974 the Pak Jung Hi regime has made a foreign loan of 2,000 million dollars every year to redeem the principal and interest. It is expected that the total debt will increase to 14,500 million dollars in 1976.

No one is able to estimate how pitiable conditions the ordinary people are in due to such debts reaching astronomical figures. Words fail to describe the miserable living conditions of the south Koreans.

Pak Jung Hi is a traitorous gangster who opposes the independent and peaceful national unification and schemes the permanent division of Korea.

The Korean nation is a homogeneous nation with a history of 5,000 years. The division of the

country following the Second World War brought the misfortune of a fratricidal war to our nation.

As a consequence, ten million families have been separated from one another and unable to inquire after each other's safety.

For 30 years our nation has been longing for the independent, peaceful unification of the country. At last there came the announcement of the July 4 North-South Joint Statement that laid down the three principles—independence, peaceful reunification and great national unity.

However, the north-south dialogue arranged after a long separation was suspended and a serious obstacle has been laid on the way to unification. This is because Pak Jung Hi has sought for permanent division to hold on to his "lifelong presidency," his ambition. It is because the United States and Japan have supported him in his intrigue. The Ford Administration has increased the US occupation troops in south Korea to 42,000 and is supplying the Pak regime with various new-type weapons in disregard of the people's opposition.

The US government has made Japan render active "aid" to Pak Jung Hi, saying, "South Korea's security is indispensable to the defence of Japan."

It declared that in the event of a war in Korea the United States "will not hesitate to use even nuclear weapons." Thus it strives to give encouragement to Pak Jung Hi.

It is the US and Japanese governments that support Pak Jung Hi's "policy" of permanent national division, the main contents of which are "two Ko-

reas' simultaneous entry in the UN" and the conclusion of "nonaggression pact" between the north and the south.

All these facts are ample proof that the US and Japanese governments are perpetuating Korea's division and actually obstructing the independent, peaceful unification of our country.

With the US and Japanese governments' backing, the Pak Jung Hi regime is creating a war atmosphere and brutally suppressing the people, kicking up the so-called "southward invasion" racket. It is stepping up the "modernization" of the south Korean army. It has already organized the "homeland reserve corps" 2.8 million strong and now forces military drills even on the middle and high school students. It is a hackneyed trick of the Pak Jung Hi regime to arrest, imprison and murder democratic personages and people aspiring after democracy and national unification on the pretext of "national security" after creating a dangerous war atmosphere.

It cooked up the "People's Revolutionary Party case," branded eight patriots as "Communists" and killed them after atrocious torture.

It imprisoned poet Kim Ji Ha on the mere charge that he had sympathized with the eight patriots.

It tortured Professor Choe Jong Gil to death and it also made a false report that Chang Jun Ha was killed by falling over a cliff. It dismissed 500 professors who maintained their opinions according to conscience. And it imprisoned 18 democratic personages who published a "Declaration for Democracy and National Salvation" on March 1 this year.

Pak Jung Hi's atrocious infringement on human rights is arousing public opinion all over the world including the United States.

No one can tell what he will be up to next. He is so barbarous and shameless that he will commit anything by fits and starts. In order to remain in power he will not mind starting a war, particularly in his last moment.

If a war breaks out, the US troops in south Korea will be involved in it and another Vietnamese war will revive on the Korean peninsula. On no account the Koreans and Americans want war.

At present there is a growing danger of war because Pak Jung Hi is raising war hysteria under the instigation of the US government and the US troops in south Korea retain a large quantity of nuclear weapons. And the conscientious people of the world are deeply concerned about the developments in Korea.

Assisting a war fanatic like Pak Jung Hi is a criminal act obstructing Korea's unification. The US government should promptly change its wrong policy of supporting and assisting the dictatorial regime of south Korea and unite its efforts with the democratic forces in Korea so as to overthrow the Pak Jung Hi fascist regime, set up a genuine democratic government and achieve the unification of Korea on the basis of the three principles specified in the July 4 North-South Joint Statement.

Concluding my speech, I call on you to raise your voice higher over the world in support of the just

cause of our people for genuine democracy and peaceful, independent national unification and help our nation eliminate the danger of war and achieve a lasting peace on the Korean peninsula.

**“NO MILITARY REGIME IN
THIS WORLD IS SO FEROCIOUS,
SO VICIOUS AND SO TRUCULENT
AS PAK JUNG HI’S”**

**—Speech Made at the International
Press Conference “On the Korean
Question” Held in Brussels, Belgium,
on June 15, 1976—**

Kwon Mal Ja

Former Korean girl student of
Seoul Pedagogic College from
Japan

Esteemed delegates!

My name is Kwon Mal Ja and I am 25 years old.
My address is 3-32-25, Bessho, Urawa City, Saitama
Prefecture, Japan.

As a Korean student from Japan to south Korea,
I have my name registered now in the second-year
of Seoul Pedagogic College.

While in Seoul as a student I was taken to the
south Korean “Central Intelligence Agency,” put to
torture and compelled to write a false “confession.”
Moreover, I suffered such an intolerable disgrace as
to have my virginity destroyed.

I would like first to touch on this shuddering experience of mine.

Under the wing of my parents who had left their homeland and lived in Japan, I covered Japanese primary, middle and high school and college courses. Then I taught the "Tokyo Korean School" for two years, which was "patronized" by the south Korean "government."

But I was not well versed in the mother tongue and our national customs because I had grown up in Japan.

So I determined to go to south Korea for study to get a better knowledge of the mother tongue and national traditions and customs, among others, and, back to Japan, to educate the rising generation better. Thus, I went to south Korea in March 1974.

Universities in Seoul were facing many complicated problems because of the "emergency measures" of Pak Jung Hi.

Students held demonstrations in demand of academic democratization in November 19, 1974 and in the spring of 1975, and word went around that the campus situation would be tense towards October or November when students would return after the summer vacation.

As for me, however, I was not so well informed of the actual conditions of south Korea and had no particularly intimate classmates. I devoted myself solely to study.

But on August 5, 1975 I was walked off for no reason by the KCIA agents who had broken into my lodging house. I was taken to a two-storey house

near the notorious hangout of the KCIA in Namsan and locked up.

Several men started a horrible interrogation on me who was trembling with anxiety and fear.

The first question was, "Who has instructed you to come to south Korea?" I answered I'd come not on anyone's "instructions" but for study of my own accord. At this, they snapped; "Impossible! Don't play the ass!" Then they threatened me: "You should know well where you are now. Your life is at our mercy. Spill out honestly."

I was pressed to name those who had been on intimate terms with me in Japan in my schooldays ranging from primary school to college and were studying in south Korea. I named several students whom I knew.

Then they inquired: "You've conducted political activities with them, haven't you?" When I told them, "I don't know politics and conducted no activity with them," those KCIA villains slapped me on the face, shouting, "You're a liar!"

As was known to me later, at that time the KCIA was faking up the so-called "campus spying case" which was made public on November 22 last year.

The KCIA men often talked among themselves: "These days anti-government moves are remarkable in campuses. Let's label their masterminds as campus spies...." "There is much noise over the affairs of south Korea in Japan."

"Having grown up in Japan, you must have been influenced by Leftist ideology," thus saying they de-

manded threateningly: "What have you done against the Pak regime together with your fellow students?"

As I did practically nothing, I could not meet their demand.

Now they gave me another slaps on the face, yelling, "You behave impertinently." "You are rebellious." They hissed: "Spill the beans! We've many means to make you speak up of your own accord. We may take you somewhere else (an underground torture chamber)."

When they failed to get a desirous answer from me, an innocent girl, they interrogated me in turns, giving me no time for sleep.

They placed my name on the list of the students of my acquaintance in Japan and south Korea and marked them as an organized group. Then they demanded my "confession" that I had "plotted" against the Pak regime.

In that while I often fainted for lack of sleep and slumped down from the chair.

One day when I remained collapsed, I heard the KCIA gangsters whispering among themselves: "Let's use her as best we can. That's all." "If she is too rebellious to be worthy of use, we'll have no alternative but to finish her off." The moment I trembled all over and was gripped with fear at the thought that I could hardly get out of there alive.

I could hardly sleep a wink for several nights. With a mere desire to live I said what they wanted and sealed with my thumb the "statement" they had prepared.

In so doing, I had no idea that this would be used

as an "evidence" for the "campus spying case" invented by them, hurt my schoolmates and involve their sacrifices.

For ten days after I was walked to the KCIA I was subjected to all sorts of threat and tortures and compelled to make a false "confession." Moreover, I was threatened with this word: "Don't say to anybody what you saw and heard and was questioned about in the KCIA. In case you make it known to the public, you will be detained again and punished heavily." I even wrote a "pledge" that I would remain silent about my experience when released.

No military regime in this world is so ferocious, so vicious and so truculent as Pak Jung Hi's.

I came to know clearly from my experience how wild they are in rigging up "cases" for the purpose of breaking down the anti-government spirit of students and people.

On November 22, 1975 the Pak regime made a noisy fuss about the so-called "campus spying case" to tide over the crisis. Among those implicated in this "case" are many students who were arrested due to my false "confession."

After this "case" was open to the public, I could not but repress both my hatred towards the Pak Jung Hi regime and my pangs of conscience for the guiltless students who were arrested and imprisoned on account of me. So, I determined to make public what I had suffered.

Between 1974 and 1975 the Pak Jung Hi regime fabricated the "case of the National Federation of Democratic Youth and Students" and the "second

case of the National Federation of Democratic Youth and Students," arrested thousands of students in south Korea and referred them to trials to impose upon them heavy penalties up to death sentence. In April last year the gangsters killed eight guiltless personages on charge of involvement in the "case of the People's Revolutionary Party."

Not content with this, they took 436 Korean students from Japan who were studying in south Korea to the KCIA and tortured them to fake up the "campus spying case."

Besides me, many other Korean students from Japan studying in south Korea were taken to the KCIA and tortured to make false "confessions" which were later used in rigging up a "case." They were humiliated there and compelled to seal a false "statement" with their thumbs like me.

Now many of them do not go back to Seoul. Though they want to tell to the public their experiences, they do not dare to pronounce their names for fear of surveillance by many KCIA operatives in Japan and fear that this may hurt their relatives.

My schoolmate from Osaka was taken to the KCIA and harshly tortured. Naming a certain student whom she did not know even by sight, the torturers compelled her to write a "confession": "I've received instructions from her who is my senior by seven years at the college." Another student who had attended only once a meeting of the south Korean "Society for the Study of Culture" while at the Japan University was forced to write a false confession: "It was a party for a plot to overthrow the Pak

regime." Indeed, in the method of faking up "anti-government cases," the Pak Jung Hi regime puts to shame Hitler who set fire to the Reichstag to have a pretext for the crackdown upon the Leftist forces.

In this way the Pak Jung Hi regime had fabricated groundless "cases" and arrested a lot of our students from Japan studying in south Korea. From the beginning of this year it held "trials" one after another and has already passed sentence of death on Kim O Ja, Paek Ok Gwang, Kim Chol Hyon and Li Chol and imposed heavy penalties upon Kim Won Jung and many others up to ten years' penal servitude.

Not only this.

The Pak Jung Hi clique do not hesitate to invent whatever false "cases" to keep their regime. They are committing such intolerable brutalities as raping women.

After achieving their primary object of wresting a false "confession" from me by torture for several sleepless nights, they committed such an accursed outrage as even sexually assaulting me.

Interrogating me, they flung even filthy joke at me and touched my body, trying to strip me of my clothes. What was more, they appeared, in turns, before my eyes with lower halves of their bodies naked and behaved like an animal, demanding me to see their ugly things.

One night when I was in bed, exhausted, a man crept into my bed clothes and tried to violate me. I raised a cry and offered a desperate resistance. His colleagues in the next room whispered to him, "You

had better rape her in her lodging-house."

Thus, on the day when I was set free from the den of devils after sealing a false "confession" with my thumb, the same man broke into my lodging-house again. He pounced upon me like a wild animal, threatening me with the words: "If you refuse my demand, I would take you to the KCIA again and would not return your passport."

This was how my virginity was violated and I suffered an intolerable disgrace. As a woman, it was more painful to me than losing my life.

I can hardly express all of it. Besides me, there is another girl student from Japan who suffered the same deadly insult. But she refrains from telling it as her parents strictly forbid her.

While in Seoul, I often heard that south Korean girl students taken to the KCIA were raped or put to "sexual torture." I was also told that many killed themselves, unable to endure that "sexual torture."

Through my own experience I came to confirm it.

As is pointed out in the report made by William Butler, US lawyer, who was sent to south Korea by the Amnesty International in July 1974, the brutal tortures employed by the KCIA involve *karate* torture making the victim lifelong crippled, whiteglow lamp torture causing deliration to the victim, "sexual torture" causing mental humiliation to the female victim, drug torture making the victim confide against his will, bamboo needle torture depriving the victim of his life after several months, electric torture, water torture and torture giving the victim no sleep.

The KCIA operatives cooked up the "campus spying case" in April 1971 and jailed So Sung and his younger brother, Korean students from Japan, and put them to monstrous tortures baffling human imagination.

They threw them into a torture room and put them to electric torture, water torture and airplane torture for successive days. Not satisfied with this, they employed against them the most hideous "Jinghis Khan cooking torture" which surpasses all imagination. They hung Mr. So Sung upside down and burned his face. Then they threw him into a hot stove.

Owing to this outrage, Mr. So Sung had serious burns all over. The muscular movement of his face was paralyzed. He was unable to blink his eyes because his eyelids lost their function. And he was unable to turn his head, his jaw and neck scorched all over. His original face was hardly recognizable.

In October and November 1972, they arrested even opposition National Assembly members—Kim Rok Yong, Li Jong Nam, Kim Gyong In, Li Se Gyu, Cho Yun Hyong, Pak Jong Ryul, Choe Hyong U and others— and put them to brutal torture. Some of them became crippled.

KCIA agents arrested Prof. Choe Jong Gil of the Law College of Seoul University, who backed the students' struggle for social democratization. They put him to water torture, airplane torture and the whiteglow lamp torture of the "latest type."

When Prof. Choe fell unconscious, they took him to the sixth floor, changed his clothes and threw him

out of the window of a lavatory as they had planned to murder him. Then they announced that he had committed "suicide," and even refused to return his dead body to his family.

The Pak Jung Hi regime also brutally tortured the eight personages involved in the above-mentioned "case of the People's Revolutionary Party," before executing them. Ha Jae Wan had his bowels ripped open and Li Jong Nam lost all his fingers in torture.

The Pak Jung Hi regime refuses to hand dead bodies to their families for fear that the traces of hideous tortures may reveal its brutalities. So, it cremates them and hands only ashes to the families.

These are only part of savage tortures inflicted by the Pak regime. Even this very moment, guiltless personages are being tortured and killed in cold blood in the underground torture room of the KCIA on Namsan Hill.

If the Pak Jung Hi regime carries on a government for the country and people even a bit, why should it arrest, jail, torture and kill guiltless people from all walks of life at random, faking up "cases"?

From the torture inflicted upon me, the coercion exerted on me to make a false "confession" and from the suppression of the south Korean people, I have drawn an unshakable conclusion that the Pak Jung Hi regime is a fascist dictatorial regime to be condemned through all ages and indict it before the honest people of the whole world.

At present the world people do not know well the fact that Pak Jung Hi betrayed the Korean nation in the past when the Japanese imperialists invaded Ko-

rea, became a lieutenant of the Japanese army and slaughtered the Korean patriots, wearing a Japanese sword at his side and that the same Pak Jung Hi is now repressing and massacring the south Korean people.

He arrested Kim Ji Ha, a well-known dissident poet, brutally tortured him and put him on "trial." He arrested south Korea's ex-President Yun Bo Son, ex-presidential candidate Kim Dae Jung, ex-Foreign Minister Chong Il Hyong, former President of a postgraduate research institution Mun Dong Hwan and 4 other professors, 7 Catholic fathers, 4 pastors and lawyers—20 in all and staged a courtroom charade on the ground that they had called for the restoration of democracy. All these facts just prove that the Pak Jung Hi regime is a fascist dictatorial regime without precedent.

Today south Korea is in such a situation where a student is put to death if he distributes a handbill critical of the present regime.

Students have had all their circles dissolved now.

They are forbidden to organize any independent functions, meetings or circle activities, except government-patronized functions sponsored by the school authorities at the backing of the KCIA.

Special agents implanted by the KCIA in the guise of students watch every movement of all other students. In Seoul University prior permission should be obtained in case more than 10 students meet, even in the playground.

A new police box is set up in front of the main entrance of this university. Hundreds of mobile po-

lice are on the round-the-clock alert there. The Pak Jung Hi regime is boasting that it is the biggest police box in the world. This world's biggest police box at the gate of the university is symbolic of the fascist and ferocious nature of the present Pak Jung Hi regime.

The Pak Jung Hi clique who have become bootlickers of the foreign imperialist forces and enjoy their patronage are bent on gratifying their greed for power and lining their own pockets while shutting their eyes to the interests and demand of the people.

Today the most ardent desire of the entire people of north and south Korea is to reunify their divided country.

There are many misfortunes in this world. But our people in south Korea regard it as the greatest misfortune that a homogeneous nation of the same blood remains split. They are filled with the desire for reunification, awake or asleep.

But, today a mere utterance of reunification incurs death in south Korea.

The Pak Jung Hi regime is seeking division instead of reunification, and a fratricidal war instead of peace. Backed by foreign aggressor forces, they are trying their hardest to freeze the national split.

They are violating the North-South Joint Statement hailed by the entire south Korean people in pursuit of their treacherous aim to keep the country divided into two parts indefinitely.

What they are after in perpetuating the national

split is to keep the Pak Jung Hi one-man dictatorship in south Korea, remain in power permanently and wallow in luxury, utterly indifferent to the tragic fate of the people.

The Pak Jung Hi clique stoop to all brutal methods, plots and tricks to cover up their treachery and gratify their lust for long-term office.

Having suffocated people by blindfolding their eyes, stuffing their ears and gagging their mouths, the Pak Jung Hi regime is now desperately trying to divert elsewhere the spearhead of their discontent and complaints.

They are making a fuss about the fictitious "threat from the north" to create a terror-ridden atmosphere among people. They fake up a "case" in every three days to lead the people's attention elsewhere and maintain their fascist regime.

The Pak Jung Hi regime which barely keeps itself with US-made weapons and Japanese currency is only indulging in personal comfort and glory, relying upon outside forces, seeking national split and war and plundering people.

It is also widely known to the world that this regime is engrossed in fraud and corruption, closing their eyes to the elementary freedom of man and the distress of people.

The Pak Jung Hi clique have committed a thousand and one vices. Their gross malfeasance was exposed at a US Congress hearing, too. Typical of it are the "Lockheed scandal" and "Gulf oil scandal" which have recently caused a world-wide sensation.

From all considerations we must not let the Pak

Jung Hi fascist regime go scotfree.

Now driven to the limit of endurance, the south Korean people have risen in a vigorous struggle for the right to live and national reunification in the teeth of brutal repression.

The Pak Jung Hi regime is not only the enemy of the south Korean people but the common enemy of the fair-minded people throughout the world who respect justice, democracy and human dignity.

Delegates!

How can we leave this brutal regime intact which arrested, tortured and violated even a girl student like me who went to south Korea for study out of her burning desire to learn the language and customs of the homeland?

We must under no circumstances pardon the Pak Jung Hi regime which denies the south Korean people even elementary and basic human rights and has turned the whole of south Korea into a huge prison in the true sense of the term.

I hope that all the fair-minded peoples throughout the world will raise their voice condemning the Pak Jung Hi regime which has imposed such unbearable sufferings upon the south Korean people.

And I appeal to them to extend support to the people of south Korea crying for human dignity, democracy and national reunification and stretch out the hands of rescue to the students and democrats now in prison.

DEMOCRATIZATION OF SOUTH KOREA AND PEACEFUL UNIFICATION OF THE COUNTRY

—In commemoration of the fourth anniversary of the announcement of the July 4 North-South Joint Statement—

Pae Dong Ho

Permanent Adviser to Han-
mintong

First of all, I would like to make clear the stand of this reporter, namely, the stand of the Hanmintong (the National Congress for the Restoration of Democracy in South Korea and the Promotion of Unification).

The Hanmintong, a united body of the democratic south Koreans residing in Japan, is an organization that conducts its activity, from the standpoint of south Korea, for the elimination of the present Pak Jung Hi dictatorship and for the restoration of democratic government and the promotion of national unification.

The Hanmintong was formed three years ago, to be more exact, in August 1973. As you know, the historic North-South Joint Statement was made public in our homeland on July 4, 1972. The statement made

clear that the country should be reunified on the three principles, that is, to reunite the country through an independent dialogue, in a peaceful means and by great national unity.

These three principles—independence, peace and great national unity—were warmly supported and hailed by the 50 million people, the entire Koreans in the north and the south, as a national programme for the unification of the country. The North-South Joint Statement, or the nation's great joint programme, came to a deadlock in less than a half year. The despotism of the Pak dictatorship went from bad to worse day by day. We can draw an instance from the outrageous abduction of Mr. Kim Dae Jung at a hotel in Japan in broad daylight. It was under these circumstances that the democratic, patriotic south Koreans in Japan formed the Hanmintong as an organization striving to unify the country in line with the historic North-South Joint Statement.

My report is based on the Hanmintong's policy of national unification.

Now I am proceeding to the main issue.

Our Korean nation is an homogeneous nation with a history of 5,000 long years and brilliant cultural traditions. Historically, at the time of the Unified State of Silla the territory of our country covered the area south of the River Chongchon, and at the time of Koguryo it extended as far as to the interior of former Manchuria. But since the establishment of the Kingdom of Koryo more than 1,000 years ago, our people have shared sweets and bitters without intermission, living in the single economic sphere on

the present Korean peninsula which they had made their inviolable territory and preserving the same language and customs. When Koguryo was attacked by the Tungusic race of Manchuria, its surviving people founded the State of Palhae and defended the honour of Koguryo as the Korean nation. But, as the odds were still against them they migrated to Koryo, a State of the same Korean race, rejecting their assimilation with the aliens.

During its colonial rule, in order to obliterate our national spirit and traits, Japanese imperialism constructed a theory that the Korean and Japanese nations are "of the same blood and origin" and forced the Koreans to change their family names into Japanese ones in pursuance of its policy of obliterating the Korean language.

However, such artifices all ended in an utter failure, only producing a handful of traitors to the nation and pro-Japanese elements.

As can be seen, our people are an homogeneous nation that hates assimilation and fusion with alien nations and takes pride in its pure blood.

Thirty years have already passed since the tragedy of territorial division was imposed on our nation that preserved a unified state through a long historical period.

The misfortune our nation suffers from the territorial division arouses deep sympathy from the progressive people and the question of unification of our country has become a matter of great international concern.

Our nation has done its utmost to put an end to

the sorrow of division and achieve territorial integrity.

Efforts towards the unification of the country have been made without letup in the north, in the south and abroad, everywhere in the world where there are our fellow countrymen. Twenty-seven years after the territorial division a road was barely open for a dialogue between the north and the south, and this gave birth to the historic Joint Statement intended for national unification. However, it failed to bring about any result conducive to the improvement of the north-south relations and the unification of the country.

Today we mark the fourth anniversary of the announcement of the North-South Joint Statement, but the actual situation at present is that the north-south dialogue is in a state of rupture, the north-south relations are growing worse and the prospect of national unification is getting gloomier with each passing day.

We consider that at the present situation the restoration of democracy in south Korea is the best way of promoting national unification, because it has become clear that the Pak regime has neither competence for unification nor intention of it, and because it is impossible to pursue the policy of unification reflecting the will of the people without the restoration of democracy.

The restoration of democracy in south Korea is the only short cut to unification, and the road to the fair and smooth solution of the question of the uni-

fication of our country lies in the promotion of democracy.

1. THE ORIGIN OF THE QUESTION OF NATIONAL UNIFICATION AND VALIDITY OF DEMOCRACY

Now I am going into details.

I will first of all refer to the circumstances which gave rise to the question of national unification, to its cause and the point at issue, and to the application of democracy in national unification and its validity.

1) THE CAUSE OF UNIFICATION QUESTION

Our country whose people originally were a homogeneous nation and whose territory consists of a single vein from Mt. Paekdu-san to Mts. Chiri and Halla, was divided into north and south with the end of World War II.

It was in the "Cairo Declaration" of 1943 during the war that the Korean question was formally dealt with by the Allied Powers.

The Declaration points out: The three Great Powers, "mindful of the enslavement of the people of Korea, are determined that in due course Korea

shall become free and independent.”

In the subsequent “Potsdam Declaration” only the following reference is made: “The terms of the Cairo Declaration shall be carried out.”

This shows that no resolution was adopted on the division of Korea in the years of the war.

The question of Korea’s division was raised by the heads of war guidance of the United States on August 12, 1945, that is, three days before the end of the war.

That day President Truman and other heads of the US government discussed and adopted “General Order No. 1” instructing which of the Allied Forces would disarm which units of the Japanese army at which area in the event of the termination of war and the surrender of the Japanese army. This decision led to the division of Korea into north and south.

The Imperial Headquarters of Japan in the closing days of war changed the Japanese army’s system of command and jurisdiction in such a way that, with 38 degrees north latitude as the demarcation, the area north of it was put under the Kwantung army and the area south of it under the 17th route army which was under the direct control of the Imperial Headquarters.

This 38th Parallel was decided as the line of division so that the Soviet army was to disarm the Kwantung army in the north of our country and the US army the Japanese units under the direct control of the Imperial Headquarters in the south.

Thus, at the end of the war the Soviet army pursuing the fleeing Japanese army advanced into the

north of Korea and the US army occupied the south under the pretext of "disarming" the Japanese army:

Here I especially quoted the phrase "under the pretext of disarming," because it was, in fact, the south Korean people themselves who carried out disarmament. No sooner had the Japanese army surrendered on August 15 than a "preparatory committee for founding a Korean state" was set up, the "people's committees" were organized and started their work and the Japanese army was disarmed.

The US army was then lingering on Okinawa. It marched into Seoul on September 8, three weeks after the end of the war.

President Truman wrote in his memoirs, "The 38th Parallel was ascribed to the US proposal." Though, we cannot repress our indignation at knowing that the fixation of the 38th Parallel was nothing to do with the will of the Korean people and that their interests were sacrificed arbitrarily by the high-handedness of the Great Powers.

Today in our country there are two different social systems, one in the north and the other in the south, and over 42,000 US troops are still stationed in the south.

It is in this context that our nation is faced with the question of national unification.

This question is a question of restoring the temporarily divided, originally one and indivisible nation and territory to their former one state, that is, a political entity. It is a task of the whole nation, the task of ending the tragedy of division imposed

on it by the arbitrariness of the foreign forces.

Therefore, national unification is not such a thing that the north or the south defeats or annexes the other.

2) PRINCIPLE OF SOLUTION OF THE QUESTION OF NATIONAL UNIFICATION AND DEMOCRACY

It is the trend of the world today for each nation to have the right to self-determination and exercise it.

This right, as a matter of fact, excludes and rejects the Great Powers' interference in the internal affairs of the lesser Powers.

It is because in the present situation the national problem is not a problem concerning either the small and weak nations or the developing countries but a problem of dispute arising mainly between the Great and lesser Powers, between the advanced and the developing countries.

The question of Korean unification, too, brooks no intervention by outside forces and should in no way be made an issue of political bargaining between Great Powers.

The master of Korea is the Korean nation, and it is also this nation that is responsible for Korea's unification.

The question of Korea's unification is an internal affair of the Korean nation; it is within the right of this nation's self-determination and it is a nation-

al cause requiring the participation of the 50 million people.

Our 50 million people do not wish for either confrontation or conflict between the north and the south. They only long for the unification of the country.

Therefore, if there is no outside interference and if the unification question is left entirely to our nation itself, it can be easily solved in a peaceful way.

Under the condition that the two opposing systems exist in the north and the south of Korea, if we are to solve the unification question not by means of war but by a peaceful means, it is essential to remove the misunderstanding and distrust deepened for a long time between the north and the south and create an atmosphere of mutual understanding and trust.

To this end, a great national unity must be promoted between the north and the south, transcending the difference of ideology, purpose and social system.

All this clearly shows that the three principles of national unification—independence, peace and great national unity—clarified in the July 4 Joint Statement are most reasonable. What we must always keep in mind in the solution of the question of Korean unification is the problem of realization of democracy.

What we must abide by to the last at this juncture is, as is pointed out in the March 1 Declaration

for Democracy and National Salvation, the "great charter of democracy providing that the best social system and policy for this nation, for the unified country, must come from the people."

In order to put the above-mentioned three principles into effect, it is imperative to rely on the resources and strength of the 50 million fellow countrymen and bring democracy into full play.

PRINCIPLE OF INDEPENDENCE AND DEMOCRACY

The independent solution of the unification issue is the inalienable right of national self-determination. In view of the general trend of the present time it is natural for the entire nation to go in for independence. However, the mere advocacy of the principle of independence will not put an end to outside interference and dependence on foreign forces, because, as mentioned above, the question of Korean unification was caused by the foreign forces.

Historically, the Great Powers made ceaseless attempts at interference and intervention to push into the Korean peninsula. The present Korean policy of the United States, a Great Power of today, too, is born of its pursuance of national interests.

The so-called unification policy of the Pak regime is, from beginning to end, dependent on the US policy towards Korea.

Independence literally means solving one's problems with one's own efforts without relying on outside forces and without intervention by them.

The forces now in existence on the Korean penin-

sula as foreign forces are the US troops in the guise of the UN forces.

Therefore, the genuine independent stand under the present conditions consists in maintaining the Korean nation's independent stand towards all the policies of the Great Powers towards Korea, the US policy towards Korea in particular. To do this is by no means easy.

In order to put the principle of independence into practice in the solution of the unification question, we must always bear in mind the fact that foreign interference in the internal affairs of a nation threatened the sovereignty of that country at all times, and we must draw a grim historical lesson from the fact that flunkeyism subservient to foreign forces eventually brought about the misfortune of national ruin. And the entire people must take part in the cause of national unification and bring democracy into full play. Thus the people in all walks of life must be mobilized. Only by so doing is it possible for our nation to hold its destiny in its own hand and solve the unification question in accordance with the will and interests of its 50 million members.

THE PRINCIPLE OF PEACEFUL NATIONAL UNIFICATION AND DEMOCRACY

The unification of Korea can be said complete only when the north and the south are finally unified into a single political system after going through a certain process. As to what process the unification question should go through before it is resolved, it

must, I hope, also be determined in a democratic way according to the people's will.

Moreover, speaking of the problem of the government and social system to be established in the unified country, it should on no account be regarded as a problem that can be solved in such a way that any individual, a party or any of the north and the south makes a decision arbitrarily and forces it on the other side. This is also a difficult problem, though it takes the form of peaceful solution. For it is a problem of eliminating the factor menacing peace and of creating a peaceful atmosphere.

The greatest factor menacing peace, above all, is the existing armaments in the north and the south. In the present situation in which US nuclear weapons are deployed south of the military demarcation line and even the possibility of their use is discussed, the mere advocacy of peace will bring us nowhere. Therefore, if we disregard the promotion of democracy, that is, the problem of building up the collective will of the people, even the peaceful settlement of the unification question is unthinkable.

PRINCIPLE OF GREAT NATIONAL UNITY AND DEMOCRACY

No matter what a concrete shape the process leading to complete unification may take, it must be a process of reconciliation and great national unity between the north and the south for the independent, peaceful solution of the unification issue.

National unity is not anything that can be

brought about by force. The existing difference of ideology, purpose and social system between the north and the south cannot be overcome by either oppression or force.

The road to great national unity lies in transcending the differences between the north and the south through the enhancement of democracy, not by pressure.

In other words, only when everyone of the people is allowed to conduct free political activities and have lively discussions about unification and only when all the political parties, social organizations and individual personages are able to take an active part in the movement for unification, can the common national features of the both sides be found and great unity achieved on that basis.

Checking, in whatever forms, political activities and discussions about national unification is equal to suppressing democracy, and to treat the question of unification as a possession of a certain privileged circle is as good as opposing national unification.

In the final analysis, in order to translate the three principles of national unification into reality, democracy must be put into practice as its foundation.

If we are to resolve the unification question by means of war, it is another story, but if we want to achieve national unification by peaceful means, this must be guaranteed by democracy without which it is hardly thinkable.

This is not a matter of theory or principle. The whole course of the north-south dialogue up to date

and the actual conditions of Korea furnish an eloquent proof of it.

2. STRENGTHENING OF DICTATORSHIP AND URGENCY OF DEMOCRATIZATION IN SOUTH KOREA

Now I would like to refer to the actual state of aggravating dictatorship and the urgency of democratization in south Korea.

WORSENING DICTATORIAL RULE OF PAK REGIME AND RUPTURE OF NORTH-SOUTH DIALOGUE

You can make a satisfactory guess at the nature of the Pak régime if you look into the personality of Pak Jung Hi and the circumstances of the birth of his regime.

In April 1960 the south Korean students and people toppled the Syngman Rhee dictatorial regime which had lasted for more than a decade.

The political situation in south Korea underwent a change following the overthrow of the Syngman Rhee dictatorship, and this change was manifested in the rapid development of the movement for national unification.

Newly-formed reformist parties and many other political organizations, social and students' organi-

zations all put up national unification as their programme and launched brisk activities.

With the formation of the National Students' Federation for National Unification, the Central Council for Independent National Unification and other organizations, the movement for national unification spread all over south Korea.

On May 5, 1961, the National Students' Federation decided to hold a north-south students' talk at Panmunjom in that month, and on May 13 a mass rally welcoming the north-south students' talk and promoting national unification was held under the auspices of the above-mentioned council.

The students proposed to hold a north-south talk at Panmunjom on May 20, and the students in the north and the south were making preparations for it. But, on May 16 Pak Jung Hi crossed the River Han at midnight and staged a military coup. For 15 years since then Pak Jung Hi has strengthened his dictatorship. At present his one-man dictatorship or the south Korean-type Fuhrer system is in force.

What was the aim of Pak Jung Hi's military coup? His "military revolution" was not aimed at simply seizing power by force; it was the worst treachery to the nation aimed at repressing the trend towards national unification, an earnest desire of the 50 million Korean people.

Pak Jung Hi graduated from the former "Manchurian" military school and then the Japanese Military Academy during Japanese rule. In his Military Academy days he was so faithful to Japanese militarism that he got the nickname of

“A 1 Japanese.” After graduation he committed the treacherous act of “mopping up” patriots engaged in the Korean independence movement in “Manchuria.”

This fact alone suffices to prove that he is a character deserving punishment in the name of the nation. After liberation he joined the south Korean army, worked as an intelligence man of the United States, won its confidence, and appeared as the ringleader of the military coup. So, it is quite understandable that he insisted on the south Korea-Japan talks immediately after his seizure of power and, in spite of the people's strong opposition, concluded the criminal south Korea-Japan treaty, even declaring that he would not mind being called “a second Li Wan Yong” for that.

He once paid a visit to Japan, when he bragged, “I will learn from the Loyalists of the Meiji era.” National restoration he used to say is nothing different from the Japanese “Kenmu Restoration” and his October Revitalization is as good as the Japanese “Meiji Restoration.” It is out of such predisposition of his that he looks up to Kodama Yoshio as “master” and formed an international anti-communist federation hand in hand with Kishi Nobusuke, one of Japan's war criminals.

The 15 years following the seizure of power by the Pak Jung Hi clique are the period characterized by their suppression of the people's freedom and democracy and the people's will favoring national unification, and by the establishment of a system of their permanent rule. Even after a road was open to

a north-south dialogue and the North-South Joint Statement was signed, they manoeuvred to strengthen their dictatorial system and freeze the national division.

After the preliminary talks of the north and south Korean Red Cross organizations started at Panmunjom on September 20, 1971, the Pak regime declared a "state of national emergency" in December on the pretext of "threat from the north" and gave itself up to inspiring fear in the people. It claims that the north-south Red Cross talks were held on the basis of its overture in August. There was no definite signs indicating the "threat from the north" in August, September or December. Nevertheless, it declared a "state of national emergency" on the pretext of the "threat from the north." Does this mean that the north-south Red Cross talks themselves constituted a "threat from the north?" I cannot but say that everything the Pak regime is doing is only the repetition of such contradictions. Alarmed by the fact that with the signing of the North-South Joint Statement in July 1972 the people showed greater enthusiasm for national unification, they threatened them, saying: "Don't be so much excited!" "The Anti-Communist Law and the National Security Law are still valid." And, ten days later they hanged former national assemblyman Kim Gyu Nam and Prof. Dr. Pak Dae In who advocated democracy and peaceful unification. The charge was that they were Communists. They declared "emergency martial law" and carried out the "October revitalization" before one week passed

after the convocation of the first meeting of the Co-Chairmen of the North-South Coordination Commission in October 1972. Thus, they further consolidated their dictatorial system.

Now that his dictatorial system was made secure, Pak Jung Hi issued a special statement in June 1973, announcing a diplomatic policy for peaceful unification. He termed it the diplomacy of peaceful unification, but, in substance, it is the policy of diplomacy for division. The gist of the statement is the active promotion of diplomacy with the unhostile communist nations and neutral countries in order to maintain "status quo" on the Korean peninsula which is divided into north and south and the facilitation of "joint UN membership" of the north and the south. This showed he had adopted the conversion of Korea into "two Koreas" by the so-called "cross recognition" as a concrete policy. After that, his regime cracked down with greater force on all the patriotic and democratic forces opposed to the one-man ruling system and territorial division.

It wantonly branded all the people opposed to the government—students, citizens, men of the press, politicians, professors, fathers and what not—as Communists or pro-Communists and suppressed them. It rigged up the "Federation of Democratic Youth and Students case" in April 1974 and retried in the same month the next year the "People's Revolutionary Party case," which had been given a judgment of acquittal already ten years before, and hanged eight innocent people.

Patriotic poet Mr. Kim Ji Ha wrote the poem "Asceticism—1974" depicting this case and was rearrested for that reason.

The KCIA arrested Professor of Seoul University Choe Jong Gil on the suspicion of a pro-Communist and killed him during investigation. It assassinated Mr. Chang Jun Ha who was an ardent advocate of anti-dictatorship and national unification.

It also brought unfair trials against 18 person-ages including ex-President Yun Bo Son and former presidential candidate Kim Dae Jung on the charge of involvement in the March "Declaration for Democracy and National Salvation" case.

As can be seen, due to the despotism of the Pak regime, south Korea today has been reduced to a desolate graveyard of democracy, a land where human rights are infringed on with unheard-of cruelty.

CHARACTERISTICS OF PAK JUNG HI'S REVITALIZED DICTATORIAL SYSTEM

Pak Jung Hi's revitalized dictatorial system is characterized by the ferocity and barbarity of the former fascists like Hitler and Tojo, coupled with the brutality and craftiness of his as a murderer.

As for Pak as a murderer, he specialized in suppressing patriots during Japanese imperialist rule and is still suppressing them. Several years ago when Mr. Ryu Jin San, who is no more, visited Japan, he told me about Pak Jung Hi's inhuman

nature as he spoke about his interview with the murderer. According to Mr. Ryu, Pak said to him: "Syngman Rhee could kill only 300 before he was overthrown, but I'll kill 3,000 or even 30,000 in order to protect my regime."

This is a beastly thinking alienating the people and negating man, which shows he has already gone beyond the stage of suppression.

Outwardly the revitalized system looks secure, but it is an actual proof of Pak Jung Hi's impotence and weakness. Originally, the fascist dictatorship is a form of rule that comes into being when the ruling system of the privileged representing the minority is faced with a crisis. So, the nearer the crisis of its constitutional fascist rule comes to the extreme, the more it becomes vicious.

Pak Jung Hi's revitalized system is a system established as a last resort in his desperate effort to save his dictatorial system which was faced with the crisis of general collapse after the misrule of more than a decade. In order to maintain his dictatorial system, he literally exhausts every means and ways. While calling for the resumption of dialogue, he invents various cases which can be hardly conceived by ordinary brains, makes fellow countrymen his enemy, and puts them to brutal tortures such as viper torture, *karate* torture, JIngHis Khan-cooking torture, glow lamp torture, narcotic torture and sexual torture.

The revitalized system is a perfect system of one-man despotism under which Pak Jung Hi is made "head of the state," "chief of the executive" and

Chairman of the Autonomous National Congress for Unification, an appointing organ for popular sovereignty, and is elected "President" by himself. Pak Jung Hi lords it over as an omnipotent tyrant who stands above the three powers on the strength of the "Revitalization Constitution," which can be said to be the main principle of dictatorship, and the "presidential emergency measures" and, moreover, under the support of the KCIA which has "super-constitutional authority."

Entrenched in such dictatorial system, Pak Jung Hi is hindering national unification, the unanimous desire of the nation, suppressing the people, cracking down on the patriotic and democratic forces and fanning a conflict and confrontation between the north and the south.

SUPPORTERS OF PAK DICTATORSHIP

Pak Jung Hi's despotic rule is facing the daily resistance of the people. It is rejected by the whole nation. His regime is also isolated internationally. This notwithstanding, it is kept intact. This is because it has supporters and helpers behind it. The ringleaders of these supporters and helpers are the United States and Japan, I should say.

The United States and Japan are, historically, the fellow travelers on the road of advance into Korea. There are many evidences to prove this. Of them, a typical one is the "Taft-Katsura agreement" in July 1905.

This secret agreement is, so to speak, an agreement on the division of colonies between the imperialist states. In the agreement the United States acknowledged Japan's aggression on Korea in return for the latter's admission of the former's domination of the Philippines. By virtue of the agreement Japan received the US support in the conclusion of the "Ulsa Protectorate Treaty," "Japan's annexation of Korea" and even in her imperialist colonial rule in Korea. After liberation, the United States played an active role in bringing south Korea and Japan together and backed Japan's inroad into south Korea. It may be said that at present the Pak regime is propped up by the US troops and Japanese *yen*.

The US government is giving the Pak regime the largest amount of dollars and weapons. When the May 16 military coup was staged by Pak Jung Hi, the United States openly stated: "The United States expresses deep concern over the south Korean situation," or "The military coup is invalid."

However, as Allen Dulles, the then director of the USCIA, officially approved that the May 16 coup was the greatest success in the overseas activities of the USCIA during his term of office, the coup d'etat was carried out under the US support.

On June 3 the US House Appropriation Committee debated and passed the 1977 foreign aid bill. According to the US government, the aid given to south Korea for 25 years from 1950 in the form of funds, manpower and weapons was quite necessary to the national interests of the United States.

It is said that the total amount of capital expend-

ed during the period totals 40,400 million dollars—12,000 million for the upkeep of the US troops in south Korea, 4,000 million for free military aid to south Korea, 6,200 million for economic aid and 18,000 million for war expenditure.

The defence report submitted to the US Congress on February 11 this year pointed out that south Korea under the protection of the armed forces around Okinawa was still a US stronghold in the Northeast Asia and that the US 2nd Division in south Korea, together with the south Korean army, formed a strong front with its armed forces and fire power needed in repulsing north Korea's surprise attack. And the new Pacific declaration says that the United States has close relations with south Korea and has been ever concerned with peace on the Korean peninsula.

It is clear from the above that the United States defines south Korea as a "stronghold" and "frontline" for its defence, that it will be "concerned with" south Korea in the future, too, and that in return for it it will continue to give it economic and military aid. This means that the United States needs and aids south Korea not "for south Korea" but "for itself."

Counting on such "aid" based on the US's self-interested policy toward south Korea, Pak Jung Hi is perpetrating the harshest tyranny.

"Okinawa," a base for supporting south Korea as a US "stronghold" and "frontline," is, it may be said, a phase of America-south-Korea-Japan relations.

While pushing forward the "integration of Japan, America and south Korea," Japan is stepping up her collusion with the Pak regime according to the US Asian policy. Viewed from the standpoint of us democratic south Koreans, the American and Japanese policies towards south Korea are an expression of the high-handed, self-seeking act of the large countries founded on the unreasonable logic of a ruler, and as such, they cannot, of course, be tolerated.

It is none other than the south Korean people, our nation and democracy and national unification that is victimized by such US and Japanese support to south Korea. The greatest misfortune of south Korea today finds its expression in the fact that due to the support from the outside forces the Pak dictatorship is maintained indefinitely and that democracy and the fundamental human rights are trampled underfoot.

The huge aid to south Korea, which comes from the purses of the Japanese taxpayers, is helping the Pak dictatorship while harassing the south Korean people. It deepens the anti-Japanese feelings among the south Koreans. The US and Japanese aid to south Korea is the chief obstacle in the way of the north-south dialogue; it constitutes the principal source that brings about the dark cloud of fratricidal war, not heralding the dawn of peaceful unification.

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3. PAK REGIME'S POLICY OF NATIONAL UNIFICATION

Thirdly, I would like to touch on the Pak regime's policy of national unification.

What lies at the root of the Pak regime's policy of national unification is "unification prevailing over communism."

Advancing his "new Pacific doctrine" on December 7, 1975, President Ford said that the first premise was that the strength of the United States was the very basis in whatever balance of forces on the Pacific. According to his judgement, it is still the mighty military power of the United States that preserves peace in Asia and in the Pacific region after the Vietnamese war.

This US global policy of strength has had direct effect on the Pak regime.

In the past, Syngman Rhee insisted on "unification by northward march" by armed forces and this even caused him to reject signing to the Korean Armistice Agreement. The Pak regime's "unification by prevailing over communism" is completely identical with the "unification by northward march." The Pak regime talks that that "prevalence over communism" will be effected in the 80's and it plays the people false, saying that it is unadvisable to have debates on unification before that.

Forcing the people not to talk about freedom, democracy and the like until then, as Japanese imperialism during the war clamoured about the slogan "We'll bear everything until victory is won" the Pak regime is oppressing the people and violently suppressing the movement for the restoration of democracy. Lately it changed its slogan "prevalence over communism" with a new one, "Destroy communism."

This means that it cannot live with the Communists and that the Communists are the "sworn enemy" and, therefore, must be exterminated. In the northern part of the territory of our country there is a government guided by the communist ideology and 15 million fellow countrymen are living there. This is a stern reality, whether one likes or not. If the word fatherland means the country of one's ancestors, the 15 million people in the north and the 35 million people in the south are undoubtedly the descendants of the same forefather. Nevertheless, the Pak regime calls the people in the north the "enemy" and tries to unify the country by doing away with it. It is a matter of course that such a form of national unification cannot be achieved peacefully and that it means national unification by recourse to armed force. But, if it officially advocates national unification by force of arms, it will be naturally rebuffed by public opinion. Moreover, it has no sufficient force of arms.

The Pak regime, therefore, is bent on fostering military force, namely, real power as early as possible. So, Pak Jung Hi has put forward the so-called "principle of unification" just as a knight wears a

priest's gown over his armour. I mean the three-point principle of national unification mentioned in his congratulatory speech on August 15, 1974. He said:

“1. Peace must be made stable on the Korean peninsula. For this, the north and the south must conclude a mutual nonaggression agreement.

2. The north and the south must open the door to each other and restore mutual trust. To this end, the north-south dialogue must be continued with sincerity and there must be multilateral interchanges and cooperation.

3. On this basis a north-south free general election should be held in proportion to the native population under fair election administration and supervision and thus unification be achieved.”

THE QUESTION OF PEACE AGREEMENT AND MUTUAL NONAGGRESSION AGREEMENT

Since his New Year press interview this year Pak Jung Hi has publicly stated: “Our immediate concern at the present juncture is not the unification of the country but the preservation of peace.” The greatest factor menacing peace on the Korean peninsula at present is that there is no conclusion of a peace agreement though 20 years have passed since the Korean Armistice.

It is a usual process that the temporary armistice agreement after a war is replaced by a long-term

peace agreement. But Pak Jung Hi is opposed to the conclusion of this peace agreement.

South Korea is not a party to the Armistice Agreement and the south Korean army is under the command of the US army called the UN forces. Precisely speaking, south Korea, namely, the Pak regime, cannot be said a party to the Armistice Agreement.

Why the Pak regime opposes the conclusion of a peace agreement? It is because it is not a party concerned and it is the north Korean side and the United States that will have direct negotiations.

It is also because the conclusion of a peace agreement will render the stationing of the US army unjustifiable and its withdrawal inevitable, and because its dream of "unification by prevailing over communism" will melt away. And it is, above all, because of its allergy against the north caused by the fact that the "north" has proposed it.

The overture for "mutual nonaggression agreement" is in fact meaningless. The reason is that Pak Jung Hi is not qualified to make such an overture. Nonaggression is of military nature, and viewed from this point, it is noteworthy that the prerogative of supreme command of the south Korean army is completely in the hands of the US army and the right to personnel administration, the troop movements, and even the right of management of ammunition are under the authority of this army.

To conclude a nonaggression agreement with the Pak regime means making a contract with a marionette without its operator; it is tantamount to a clerk of a big firm flying a kite in the name of its

president.

In proposing the "nonaggression agreement," the Pak regime also seeks for north-south coexistence, i.e., "two Koreas."

RESUMPTION OF NORTH-SOUTH DIALOGUE AND THE QUESTION OF MANY-SIDED INTERCHANGES AND COOPERATION

The north-south dialogue is feasible when it aims at carrying out the three principles of national reunification specified in the July 4 Joint Statement.

The objective of the dialogue is to carry forward the agreed principles and give shape to them. If no effort is made for constructive discussions on the pretext that any concrete measures for unification are "premature" or "unrealistic," and if one party only slanders the other party at the table, such a dialogue is quite meaningless.

Such is precisely what Pak Jung Hi pursues in proposing the resumption of dialogue.

Frankly speaking, to our regret, it is none other than Pak Jung Hi that rejected interchange and co-operation.

At the second meeting of the Co-Chairmen of the North-South Coordination Commission held in November 1972, an agreement was reached on the ways and means of national unification, interchange between political parties, social organizations and individual personages in the north and the south, economic, social and cultural intercourse, the lessen-

ing of tension between the north and the south, the removal of military confrontation, concerted foreign activities and other matters concerning the functions of the Commission, and a unanimity of views was reached on setting up political, economic, military, diplomatic and cultural subcommittees under the Commission.

However, at the third meeting Pak Jung Hi tried to attach conditions to each of the agreed points, thereby arresting the progress of the talks. He held that they were all "premature" and that they had to be settled "step by step."

And, with the Kim Dae Jung abduction case as the momentum, the north-south dialogue came to a deadlock.

The unsubstantial, formal talks are to deceive the people and world public opinion and prolong his dictatorial system.

THE PROBLEM OF FREE NORTH-SOUTH ELECTION IN PROPORTION TO INHABITANTS

It is utterly absurd that Pak Jung Hi advocates a free election in proportion to inhabitants.

Even in the south, panic-stricken Pak Jung Hi cannot hold a direct election. He rigged up the "Revitalization Constitution" and set up the nominal Autonomous National Congress for Unification. As its chairman, he gets it to elect him president.

Has there been even one election which is not fraudulent during his 15-year terms of office? The

free election trumpeted by Pak Jung Hi always goes with the "surveillance" of a certain agency. A free election must be one reflecting the general will of the people to the letter. To this end, all the people (including the overseas compatriots) must be allowed, above all, to participate freely in the election. First of all, the freedom of association including political parties, the freedom of their activities, release of all political prisoners and their political activities must be guaranteed. The political parties, organizations and individual personages in the south must be allowed to conduct free election campaigns in the north and those in the north to carry on free political activities in the south. A free election presupposes all these conditions. If an election or the work of unification is conducted in this way, they will not be much of a problem and no one has any reason to oppose them.

If such free election is to be held, even the north will raise no objection.

However, the "free election" advocated by the Pak regime is nothing in common with the full expression of free will. In making this overture Pak Jung Hi intended to confuse public opinion, propagating his abstract and obscure policy of unification. But it only reveals to the whole world that his regime has no intention and ability to unify the country.

4. THE TASK FOR RESTORATION OF DEMOCRACY AND PROMOTION OF NATIONAL UNIFICATION

Lastly, I would like to refer to the task for the restoration of democracy and the promotion of unification in south Korea.

From what has so far been mentioned in a broad line, we come to conclusion that in order to achieve the peaceful unification of the country without fail, it is most important to restore democracy in south Korea.

It is by no means due to the nonexistence of a reasonable proposal that the country is not unified in spite of the ardent wish of the 50 million people. The United States tries to maintain its control over south Korea in a state of territorial division because it regards south Korea as its "forefront defence area." Japan insists that Korea should not be unified because the security of south Korea has something to do with her security. Pak Jung Hi is only servile to their opinions as he is completely deprived of his subjecthood. Unification is impossible so long as there exist the relations between the Pak regime and the outside forces which consider "divided Korea" to be more beneficial to them.

We have the three principles of national unification. Besides, many a concrete proposal for the so-

lution of the question have been put forward in the course of the consistent activities for national unification conducted so far at home and abroad. And if the north and the south, the patriotic forces at home and abroad which truly wish for national unification, sit at one place and have a heart-to-heart talk, they can surely work out excellent plans for great national unity and peaceful unification. The question is that there exists a man who impedes the realization of the fair principles and reasonable proposals for national unification. Therefore, for the solution of the question, this obstacle must be removed first of all.

OVERTHROW OF PAK DICTATORSHIP AND CHECKING OF INTERFERENCE BY ITS ACCOMPLICES

—OVERTHROW OF PAK REGIME; ESTABLISHMENT
OF A DEMOCRATIC COALITION GOVERNMENT—

Today Pak Jung Hi's revitalized dictatorship that tramples on freedom and democracy in south Korea constitutes an "impediment" to the peaceful unification of the country.

With this revitalized system left alone, it is impossible to guarantee the existence of the south Korean people and democracy or conduct a free discussion about national unification and a strong movement for it. It is also impossible to ease the tension between the north and the south and remove the danger of fratricide. Under the revitalized system it is

impossible to bring the north-south dialogue to success and prevent the perpetuation of territorial division.

The Pak dictatorship is not a sort of regime that can be corrected by partial modification or gradual reform. Therefore, it must be overthrown without fail to be replaced by a democratic coalition government. The establishment of this government alone will restore the order of democratic constitutional government.

It will also pave a road to the peaceful unification of the country. —

—SEVERANCE FROM PAK REGIME OF OUTSIDE FORCES SUPPORTING IT—

The Pak dictatorial regime has been denounced and rejected by our whole nation. It has been also hated internationally since long ago. It cannot keep its existence even a single day without the support and aid of the American and Japanese governments. Therefore, in order to topple the Pak dictatorship, it is important to deal blows at the American and Japanese forces behind it and ward off their influence.

UNFOLDING OF NATIONWIDE STRUGGLE FOR RESTORATION OF DEMOCRACY AND PROMOTION OF NATIONAL UNIFICATION

—THE STRUGGLE INSIDE SOUTH KOREA—

In order to overthrow the Pak dictatorship and establish a democratic coalition government, it is necessary, first of all, to intensify the struggle inside south Korea. The struggle under the Pak regime's murderous despotism is, of course, very difficult, involving many sacrifices.

However, the Pak regime's suppression is an evidence of the difficulty of maintaining power. And contradictions are worsening in the regime. History shows that all the fascist dictatorships, without exception, went to ruin as a result of incessant struggle. Convinced of this truth, the patriotic democratic forces of south Korea are now waging a dauntless struggle.

—THE STRUGGLE OUTSIDE THE COUNTRY—

For the overthrow of the Pak dictatorship and the severance of the forces supporting it, an intense struggle must be waged abroad as at home. It is because under the condition of intensified suppression at home, the struggle overseas will be an encouragement to the struggle at home and give rise to a new struggle. The former enjoys a favourable condition in comparison with the latter, but it has less influence. So, it is required that the struggles at home and abroad be brought closer to the utmost to render an active support to the struggle at home.

—EXTENSION OF NORTH-SOUTH DIALOGUE AMONG POPULAR MASSES—

Promotion of democratization in south Korea, particularly national unification, urgently requires not only a dialogue and interchange between those in power but also those between the masses of the people.

- National unification means the unification of our divided land and at the same time reunion of our nation, the same race, which is now separated in the north and the south. It is natural, therefore, that the 50 million people should come to a mutual good understanding and promote interchange among themselves. It is, I think, the pressing need of the day for the representatives of political parties and social organizations and individual personages in the north and the south to have discussions with regard to national unification, form a united front or a consultation setup for national unification, in which the people have the initiative, and make concerted efforts.

—REALIZATION OF NORTH-SOUTH CONFEDERATION—

In Article 9 of its platform, the Hanmintong clearly states: "To neutralize the Korean peninsula and achieve gradual national unification through a north-south confederation."

The confederation we propose is, of course, not a permanent one: It is a temporary one. This confederation will be enforced for a definite period as a transitional step towards complete national unification. This transitional measure is necessary because it is most realistic in view of the present situation

on the Korean peninsula.

It is realistic because the unification of the north and the south, after all, presupposes promotion of a dialogue and reconciliation involving all the masses of the people. If one side imposes its political idea and system on the other side, it will not make for a dialogue.

Our intention is to form a consultation organization for the whole nation and efficiently apply the agreements reached there in the internal and external affairs, while leaving the two diametrically opposing ideas and political systems in the north and the south intact for the time being. And in this course we will recover mutual trust and achieve complete national unification through the method we think best, that is, through the amalgamation of the parliaments of the north and the south, the coalition of the two governments, or the north-south general election by democratic universal suffrage.

Such confederation is the demand of the democratic movement at home. Chon Gwan U, historian and a leader of the movement for the restoration of democracy, put forward a "theory on a complex state." He maintains that since it is difficult to achieve national unification in the present situation though its earlier realization is desirable, it will be a more feasible way of achieving unification to establish a complex state of the north and the south, develop this state gradually into a single state, while allowing, as the first temporary step, each of them to take an independent action and deepening the consciousness of great national unity.

While in Japan, Mr. Kim Dae Jung, too, said:

"...I hold that a confederation should be formed, under which both the north and the south have the rights to administering foreign, military and internal affairs and carry out what are agreed between them at their meetings, in order that the north and the south are brought into a big frame called national unification on the principle of recognizing two governments for a nation, not one state for a nation. This will enable us to understand the reality as it is and coexist together and, at the same time, steadily follow the road to national unification and set the two parts in the frame which will never break loose again."

In the course of concretizing and furthering their advocacy of confederation there will arise various opinions. However, they may have no objection to the principle that the country will be reunified after going through a transitional stage, leaving the present systems of the north and the south intact for the time being. And the variety of opinion is a problem that can be fully surmounted in the course of dialogue and consultation. If such method is not adopted, it is unavoidable that one side imposes its assertion on the other side, which eventually makes it impossible to unify the country by peaceful means.

Originally, the Hanmintong was organized for the purpose of achieving national unification on the principles of independence, peaceful unification and great national unity specified in the July 4 Joint Statement.

If we are to put the three principles into effect

in other direction, we think that that is practically impossible without democratizing south Korea and that even if it is democratized, a transitional stage is necessary till the complete unification is achieved.

Therefore, we maintain that the whole Korean peninsula should be nonaligned and neutralized. We don't call for unification by prevailing over communism or unification by communization but for democratic unification that correctly reflects the will of all our 50 million people.

STRENGTHENING OF INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT

—INTERNATIONAL SIGNIFICANCE OF RESTORATION OF DEMOCRACY IN SOUTH KOREA AND PROMOTION OF NATIONAL UNIFICATION—

The struggle for the restoration of democracy in south Korea and the promotion of national unification is part of the struggle of the people of the whole world for national independence, freedom and peace.

The international solidarity and support expressed by the honest-minded people and progressive personages in all countries of the world including Asia constitute a great stimulus to the democratization of south Korea and an important contribution to the peaceful unification of our country. It is also certain that the democratization of south Korea and the peaceful unification of the country will mark an important turning-point in the preservation of peace in Asia and the progress of mankind.

—SUPPORT TO THE RIGHTEOUS STRUGGLE
OF OUR NATION

The struggle against the Pak dictatorial regime forms a link in the chain of the international democratic movement, and it is natural that solidarity with the struggle against Pak Jung Hi is expressed especially in Japan which strongly buttresses the Pak regime.

The Japanese people regard the struggle of solidarity with the south Korean people as the struggle for themselves, and this can be seen in the struggle now surging in different parts of Japan. Such understanding should be further deepened and promoted among the wider sections of the people.

The solidarity struggle, first of all, consists in more thoroughly isolating the Pak Jung Hi horde internationally.

In an attempt to extricate himself from the state of an international orphan, Pak Jung Hi deceives public opinion and makes every possible effort to win support. In particular, of late they are bent on moulding public opinion in Japan.

Under these circumstances, it is necessary for the people of Japan and other countries of the world to have a correct understanding of the actual situation in south Korea and raise their voices condemning and indicting the real state of inhuman tyranny of the revitalized dictatorship.

At the same time, we must see to it that countries in Asia and in other parts of the world sever their

political, economic and cultural relations with the Pak regime and give blows to it. What comes next in order is the elimination of the forces in Japan and America that back the Pak regime.

The ruling circles of Japan and America cannot openly support the Pak's revitalized dictatorship because the repressive atrocities of his regime is unprecedentedly harsh. This reveals the weakpoint of the outside forces backing the Pak regime. Therefore, it may be said that disclosure and denunciation of the inside facts of the Japanese and American support to south Korea in all parts of the world and the raising of public cry against them will prove very effective. To the Pak regime, nothing is more dreadful than world public opinion against it.

In moulding public opinion it is important to expose the fact that the US troops in south Korea are the very outside force upon which the Pak dictatorship places the greatest confidence, and raise our voice higher in demand of their withdrawal.

CONCLUSION

The question of the unification of our country is in great complexity, but this does not mean it is insoluble.

Today the progressive people of the whole world are actively supporting the struggle of the south Korean people.

The third world, the nonaligned countries, which have emerged as a new political force on the international arena, are vehemently denouncing the Pak dictatorship. They condemn it also at various international organizations including the United Nations. Democratic personages in the United States and Japan, to say nothing of the popular masses, are simultaneously denouncing the Pak dictatorship and strongly demanding the change of their governments' policies towards south Korea.

We now have the three principles advanced in the July 4 Joint Statement, the great programme of national unification.

If our people, receiving such international support from broad sections of people, continue to wage a nationwide struggle and carry out the democratization of south Korea, it will bring about a new dialogue, a negotiation for genuine national unification, between the north and the south.

Then, our nation will put the principles of independence, peace and great national unity into practice and smoothly solve all the problems concerning national unification including the problem of improvement of relations between the north and the south.

ACTUAL SITUATION OF LABOUR MOVEMENT IN SOUTH KOREA

—The workers must regain their rights
by themselves—

Bishop Chi Hak Sun

This is the gist of the lecture delivered by Bishop Chi Hak Sun following the “prayer meeting for workers” held in Myongdong Cathedral in Seoul on March 10, 1977.

1.

Today is the workers' day. Whenever this day comes round, the government organizes a ceremony in honour of the occasion, and commends “model working men” and highly praises the workers for the much effort they have made for the growth of the economy. It will repeat this process today, too.

Such a praise is quite natural, but today when the target of exports is set at 10 billion dollars, is there any improvement in the working conditions of the workers in comparison with those 10 years ago? Working hours are long and dull as ever. Work is

toilsome as before and a work environment is bad as usual. Due to the inhuman working conditions impairing valuable and irreplaceable life and health, the number of workers suffering from diseases and accidents is increasing, far from decreasing.

The government is ballyhooing that our country has so far attained a miraculous economic growth rare to be seen in the world and that national income has increased several times. However the wages of the most of the workers are nailed to a pitifully low level; they are the same now as in the past. If the price rises in this period are taken into account, they remain on the same level at the most. The rapid increase of labour productivity during this period means that workers are exploited harsher than before and that their human rights are more heavily trampled on.

The basic reason, of course, lies in the fact that the labour movement has made no progress. The government says that the workers' life will improve automatically when the economy makes rapid progress. However, we are all well aware through several years of our bitter experience that it is an absurd talk. It is a mere illusion to think that an enterprise or a government is willing to help the workers to uphold their rights when they air no grievance, and history does not know such instance. The united struggle of the workers themselves can only improve their life and promote human rights.

Those who turn their faces away from this simple and clear fact or conceal it, are, without exception, those who oppose and suppress the workers' right to

life worth leading as human beings. If any of us wants to side with the oppressed workers and help them, we must, first of all, do our utmost to advance the labour movement.

2

As we know well, the labour movement of our country remains in a very serious condition. This is because there are tremendous obstacles to the development of the labour movement. The poor progress of the labour movement in our country today is mainly due to the policy of economic growth based on the maintenance of the workers' low-wage level. Namely, it is attributable to the fact that the government's policy proceeds from its standpoint of opposing and suppressing the labour movement.

The wage level of our country is extremely low: one-fourth to one-fifth of that of Japan, and one-fifteenth to one-twentieth of America. The government stakes everything on its economic policy of introducing foreign capital and expanding export, keeping the low-wage level and using it as the sole asset. We should not overlook this fact. Of course, it may be partly due to individual businessmen, but we must know clearly that it is essentially ascribable to the basic policy of the government.

It is quite preposterous that the maintenance of the workers' hardship is made the basic policy of the

state. However, it is the reality of today no one can deny. Of late, the government advertized as if the businessmen were only responsible for the maintenance of low-wage labour. It even bragged that it would take the lead in putting an end to low wages. But it is a sheer empty talk. On the contrary, the person responsible for the economic policy stated that he would see that the rate of wage rise should not jump over the maximum level of 18 per cent.

Suppression of the labour movement by the present regime has been intensified in the extreme in the recent several years. In 1971 the government proclaimed the "Special Law on National Defence." According to Article 9 of this law, if workers want to exercise the right to collective bargaining or collective action, they should apply for the mediation of the competent authorities in advance and submit to its arbitration. This, in fact, means the deprivation of the right to collective bargaining or collective action. It is nothing but the thorough negation and illegalization of the labour movement to which the rights to collective bargaining and collective action are vital.

Prior to it, in January 1970, the "Provisional Special Warning Law on the Labour Unions and Labour Disputes in Enterprises with Foreign Investment" was proclaimed. This law has a stipulation making it almost impossible not only to exercise the right to labour disputes but also organize even trade unions within the enterprises invested by foreigners. As a result, the south Korean workers are legally made victim of exploitation by foreign capital. The

actual condition in the Masan Free Export Zone shows that the nation's dignity is utterly trampled underfoot by foreign capital.

Plural labour unions are prohibited in our country. Therefore there is, in fact, a single labour union under the General Federation of Labour Unions. However, as we all know, the General Federation of Labour Unions which must represent the interests of the workers has become government-patronized and is placed under the complete control of the political power.

Major labour unions are under the constant surveillance of members of the intelligence and investigation organs, and intelligence agents and riot police are mobilized whenever labour disputes break out. Those who go in for a genuine labour movement free from the government's control are branded as impure elements or even Reds.

Under these circumstances, although they are in an utter lack of right, many workers have given up their hope of improving labour conditions and got used to keeping their body and soul together regarding their daily life as their lot. As can be seen, many workers are in a state of a dim consciousness of their rights. This is a matter we must pay deep attention to today in seeking for the development of the labour movement.

Such state of affairs must not continue any longer. We must stoutly oppose the basic policy of the government that tries to indefinitely keep the workers in a rightless state as at present. All the policies and barriers which are trampling on the people's right to lead a life of a human being should be removed. Intellectuals and Christians should take all possible steps such as propaganda education and moral and material assistance to help workers fight for a life worthy of a human being.

The masters of the labour movement are, in every point, the workers. The awakening, unity and struggle of the workers themselves can only enhance their position and improve their life. I have some earnest requests which I would like to make of you, our workers, availing myself of this opportunity.

First of all, you must not forget the fact that you are dignified men. Your health and life are valuable and irreplaceable.

Even though the world tramples down you and treats you like rubbish, you must not forget the fact that you have the right to live a life as a human being, a life due to a dignified man. As Chon Tae Il, a cutter of the Pyonghwa Market, who set fire to himself, said: "The life of the weak is as valuable as that of the rich." Therefore, you must not forget even

a moment that you are entitled to fight against everything detrimental to your health and humanity.

You must not be prepossessed with a feeling of inferiority. You are not to be blamed because you are poor and uneducated. The moneyed, well-informed and influential and you, the uninfluential and weak people, are equally human beings and God's equal sons and daughters. Don't get resigned or act the coward.

A man of self-respect can only extricate himself from slavery and take back his just rights.

However exhausted you may be, you do try to think, study and learn hard in order to live a life worthy of a human being. So far as we are human beings, we have the capacity to think, learn and acquire knowledge. Let us think over what man is, what a life worthy of man is and what man should do. Let's deeply study what we should do if we are to get out of our sad plight. You must try to learn how your wage level and all working conditions are determined and know what and how to do to improve them.

This is not an easy question. However, it is by no means insoluble. Here I should like to especially advise you to learn from Chon Tae Il. This worker had no regular primary education. But he made a painstaking effort to know which path the workers should follow. Thus, he came to possess the best of thoughts in our society. He followed that path and sacrificed his only life in order to illuminate the path for you.

Finally I appeal to you to organize and unite

yourselves and put up a struggle.

You are not the powerless beings that have to meekly submit yourselves to any unfair things imposed on you. You are mighty. If you fight in unity, you will acquire power strong enough to radically change your lot. It's God's teaching that one is responsible for one's own destiny. If you do not want to be maltreated or harshly exploited any longer, you should be awakened.

The workers' wretched plight of today, I stress again, will never be improved without their awakening and struggle.

In particular, you should get back your rights to collective bargaining and collective action which were deprived. It is directly related to the democratization movement. The rights of you workers cannot be upheld without the democratization of all policies and society. You should fight for the right to free labour movement at the risk of your lives.

4

Together with workers, all those who want to have human liberty and dignity and establish social justice should fight for the development of the labour movement. In particular, the intellectuals and Christians must play an important role here. Thinking of the difficulty facing the labour movement of our country today, I should like to propose our intellec-

tuals and Christians to make haste and begin to do what they should do at the minimum level.

Firstly, we must issue any form of publication on the labour movement which can be distributed to most of the workers. This publication should echo the voices telling the vivid experience of workers, constantly report the actual situation of the labour movement and working conditions, and give news and informations on the labour movement.

Secondly, teaching materials should be prepared to help the workers in their learning and study. We must publish books on philosophy, theology, politics, economics and law for the workers and make sure that they may make mastery of them.

Thirdly, the intellectuals and Christians should unsparingly render all the possible moral and material assistance to the workers. I should like to lay particular stress on the point that the church establishments should be fully utilized for the labour movement and that an adequate and proper training plan should be mapped out to get more young intellectuals and students to participate in the labour movement.

Fourthly, a campaign should be launched widely to put an end to the political and legal oppression of the labour movement. The campaign for abolishing the National Security Law and evil labour laws, the struggle against the interference in the labour movement by the state power organs such as the intelligence agency, the police and the Office of Labour, and the struggle against the imprisonment, dismissal and assault of the organizers of the labour move-

ment and against the violent suppression of labour disputes by mobile police should be waged as soon as possible.

We must, above all, clearly show in words and deed that we will no longer tolerate the situation in which the labour movement is treated as a leftist movement or the organizers of the labour movement are branded as pro-Communists.

5

The road ahead of us is very rugged and thorny. It cannot but be extremely difficult and arduous to develop the labour movement in the historic, politico-economic, social and cultural conditions of our country. However, we have to traverse this road, because this road of the labour movement that seeks for the dignity of the most distressed and hard-up people as human beings is the road of truth, of love, of humanity and of Christ.

What I want to tell you in earnest is that falsehood cannot win truth, that oppression, however powerful, can never destroy the power of love and that the truth will finally win whatever difficulty it may encounter.

As a Christian who greets the Resurrection on the cross I am convinced, by the mere Chon Tae Il's suicide in the flames, that the labour movement of our country will surely win in spite of all sorts of oppres-

sion and sufferings.

The labour movement of our country is in great difficulties, but we must not forget the fact that new buds are sprouting out with irresistible force, promising a bright future for the movement.

Even under this harsh oppression, our young workers are strenuously fighting everywhere. Many of our youths and students, intellectuals and religionists are exerting themselves to stand firm on the side of the workers, and fight together with them.

I am confident that though their voices are not heard due to oppression today, they will turn into a resounding battle cry tomorrow. We will certainly win, and so will the labour movement of our country.

“NO FREEDOM, NO JUSTICE, NO PEACE AND NO UNIFICATION SO LONG AS THERE IS REVITALIZED SYSTEM”

—Statement of Reasons for Appeal—

Father Ham Se Ung

This “Statement of Reasons for Appeal” was presented to the puppet Supreme Court to appeal from the puppet Seoul High Court’s “finding” of December 29, 1976, on the “case of the March 1 Declaration for Democracy and National Salvation” (the case of “violation of Presidential Emergency Decree No. 9”). The date of its presentation was not made public. Follows the abridged version of the statement which was carried in the overseas paper Hanminbo on April 1 and May 1, 1977.

On December 29, 1976, I was given the verdict of guilty at the Criminal Affairs Division of the Seoul High Court of Justice on the charge of involvement in the case of “violation of Presidential Emergency Decree No. 9” and appealed to the Supreme Court. I present my statement of reasons for appeal as in the following:

I made an appeal, but this is not from the expectation that the Supreme Court will give a sober judgment. It is a plain fact that, to the sorrow of all

of us, along with your Court, we can expect nothing of the judiciary under the "revitalized system" which is made up of the judicial officers appointed by the President of the "revitalized system" and which passes a judgment, taking the "Revitalization Constitution" as the supreme normative law. So I have nothing to tell your Court.

What I want to tell from now on is addressed to all our brothers and sisters who love justice, peace and freedom. Among them, of course, can be included those natural persons who are to try this case as the judges of the Supreme Court. In this statement I would like to make clear why I, as a Christian, had to oppose the revitalized system, and express some of my views on the road the Christians should take under this system and on the tasks of the democratization and public welfare movements of the church. And this statement is related, in a way, to myself, a Christian, before anyone else.

In this sombre jail, which is filled with unusual sacredness permeated with all the hardships and sorrows of our time, we would like to extend our heartfelt greetings to all who follow the road of Christianity.

We have been spending here nearly one year. During this time we have had very many things to talk about together with you. But we have been unable to do anything, as we are cut off by this wall, the wall of oppression which, with a heavy lock on the door, shuts out everything, seals up everything and makes a living man a mummy. It is known that even in Tsarist Russia which was notorious for sup-

pression of political offenders, the prisoners were allowed to read and write in the cells or in penal colonies. But in this prison under the "revitalized system" writing is not allowed and even reading is not unrestricted. In fact, the time to prepare our statements of reasons for appeal is the sole chance offered to us for it.

1. WHY WE OPPOSE THE REVITALIZED SYSTEM?

It is, of course, Pak Jung Hi that locked us up in this prison. The charge was that the Catholic-Protestant Churchmen's Declaration for Democracy and People's Living made in Wonju on January 23, 1976, and the Declaration for Democracy and National Salvation on March 1, the same year, ran counter to the emergency measures. This is a sheer logic of the strong. We must have violated the so-called Presidential Emergency Decree No. 9 which Pak Jung Hi unilaterally proclaimed, warning that no words displeasing him should be uttered in any case. But what is wrong with it? We are men with lives the essence of which is freedom endowed by the Lord, and with mouths to voice this freedom. And should we, as such men, only utter words to the liking of Pak Jung Hi, and should we not say any other words? Such is the substance of what they call the

emergency measures. Brandishing these unjust laws, the judiciary of the Republic of Korea, the so-called independent state, solemnly passed a finding of guilt on us.

In our Declaration at Wonju we maintained that such laws of suppression of human rights as the "Revitalization Constitution," "emergency decrees" and "Social Security Law" should be repealed, demanded that the dignity and independence of the nation be upheld, and held that the human rights of the oppressed and poor people should be respected and that peace, democracy and great national unity be sought without creating a war atmosphere. In the March 1 Declaration for Democracy and National Salvation, we again called for complete restoration of human rights and democracy, the establishment of an independent economic system and the guaranteeing of the right to live to the masses of the people, demanded the exertion of sincere efforts to national unification, and urged the Pak regime to repent of its errors committed so far and meet all the above-mentioned demands, adding that, if it couldn't meet them, it should step down from power.

What was wrong with this? There may be millions and tens of millions of people in our country who share the same idea and aspiration. But I would rather point out only one thing, setting aside all other things. We are certainly members of our nation, and we, who share the same opinion on the problems greatly affecting the destinies of ourselves and our posterity, got together and set forth our views. We did nothing but this. Yet, under Pak Jung

Hi's revitalized system, we could not but be guilty of high treason, and we were imprisoned to do penal servitude for years.

Many people were thrown into this prison on similar charges, and some of them were hanged on the gallows like a dog. This is the very reason why we are categorically opposed to the revitalized system.

WE CAN'T BOW AT SON OF VIOLENCE

What all of us should dread, respect and observe is not the laws and orders instituted by the power but the order of conscience, which is the law of love and justice. It is a law based on a major premise that life and freedom are sacred and that a human being created on the pattern cut by the Lord is dignified.

We must rid ourselves of idol worship of the "laws" enacted by the power. Generally speaking, the laws and order of human society are, in many cases, nothing but the making of the will of the strong who want to dominate the weak effectively. The most illustrative instances are provided by the "Revitalization Constitution" and the emergency measures.

As everyone knows, originally the Revitalization Constitution revealed its ugly feature before the world on October 17, 1972, when greedy Pak Jung Hi forcibly dissolved the National Assembly with tanks and bayonets, closed all schools, proclaimed

martial law, destroyed the Constitution and threw the people into the crucible of terrorism. The Revitalization Constitution undoubtedly is the illegitimate son of violence armed with tanks and bayonets.

Why should we, sons and daughters of God, bow to this illegitimate son of violence and to its offsprings—the emergency decrees and the Social Security Law?

REVITALIZED SYSTEM IS A SYSTEM OF "OBVIOUS TYRANNICAL OPPRESSION" THAT PROFANES GOD

What is the essence of the "Revitalization Constitution?" It is the idol worship of power, the absolutization of particular person and the subordination of all other persons. It is a clear negation of human dignity and the modesty of human beings before God; it is a plain challenge to our deep-rooted faith that all human beings are equal children in the bosom of God.

Under the Revitalization Constitution the President is made to elect himself President and he assumes complete control of the three powers of the legislature, the executive and the judicature. It is within the discretion of this one person to enact, abrogate or amend laws, assess taxes, mint coins, and arrest, incriminate, absolve, kill or spare people, to say nothing of administration. Throughout the processes of politics there is no chance of reflecting the people's will, and the people are only compelled to obey. Not only that. The President is authorized

to proclaim "emergency decrees" of his own accord without any restraint, and these decrees constitute "unlimited power" by which the President on his own authority can do "everything except changing a man into a woman," that is, he can suspend even the freedom and rights of the people stipulated in the Revitalization Constitution and change waywardly the powers of the government or court. Supposing that Pak Jung Hi has massacred some half of the 35 million south Korean population on the strength of the emergency decrees, this can be a fully "legitimate" measure at least in the light of the system of the Revitalization Constitution.

The system under which the individual has literally unlimited, absolute authority which, of course, is not controlled by the people and restrained even by the constitutional provisions themselves, is no longer democratic no matter what modifier is prefixed to it: it is a system quite contrary to democracy. It is an anachronistic "system of absolute monarchy" underlying the "full absolute power of a man" and the "complete non-rights of all people"; it is a sort of system that declared that the "right to revolution" rests with the masses of the people under an "obviously violent system," as Thomas Aquinas said in his *Complete Theology*.

FATE OF HUMAN RIGHTS UNDER REVITALIZED SYSTEM

It is an iron rule of history that under such sys-

tem all sorts of pitiable human tragedy will naturally take place. The authority which is not restrained by the oppressed can, on account of its attribute, never control itself, and its arbitrariness knows no bounds. This is the reality we now see under the revitalized system.

The fate of human rights under this system is ruin, nothing else. Everywhere the human rights of us people are trampled underfoot by power. In spite of so much spurious propaganda of the "high-rate economic growth" bragged of by the Pak regime, the workers remain as ever the victims of inhuman labour environment, long-hour labour and low wages. The revitalized system, however, has deprived them of the rights to labour dispute and collective bargaining, their sole means of living. Most of the workers of our country are dying of various diseases in the wretched labour environment which undermines their health and lives. Nevertheless, the press organs under the revitalized system are unable to properly report the actual state of affairs. Accordingly, the workers' pain is confined to themselves, hardly becoming a matter of social concern. We sometimes read newspaper articles on the death of workers from occupational diseases, when we are struck with dumb at a fresh shocking impression as if we are faced with a new, hitherto unknown fact all of a sudden.

We are aware that, in fact, even these rare but sudden reports are subtly manipulated in the interests of power under the control of the authority.

Everywhere the revitalized power is ruthlessly

suppressing the struggle of the workers who, out of patience, have risen up to subsist. You may have heard the pathetic story about the hundreds of girl workers in their twentieth who undressed themselves and put up resistance in their bare skin to stand up against the suppression by the riot police. The revitalized system silenced with truncheons and tear-gas shells the loud bloody cries of the downtrodden workers and then brazen-facedly asks them to "keep patience" for the building of a "glorious (merry) country" and "just work mutely by the sweat of your brows." In disregard of such workers' diseases, poverty and pains, the Pak regime seeks for various "results" in figures and credits them to the "great leader". The present system does not allow us to make a single protest against the greatest pain of our age and it even gets the pain not to be duly appreciated.

Such situation of workers is not an isolated case. The same may be said of all the popular masses, all the unprivileged people including the peasants groaning under the tyranny of the agricultural co-operatives and government authority, the urban paupers who have rapidly been deprived of their means of living since the establishment of the revitalized system, the inhabitants in the pollutional area who have suffered damage due to the Pak regime's wanton introduction of the pollution industry but find no way of proper indemnification, and the rank-and-file officials who, though in straitened circumstances due to meagre salary, have been reduced to the purgatory sheep for the corruption and degeneration

of the Pak regime and bully only minnows, trembling for unrest under the merciless sword of the so-called "reform of all administrative business."

This is not all. Even if a healthy person is released dead from the detention house of the KCIA or a police station, his family is unable to investigate the cause of his death, let alone voicing a protest, and most of the people are not even informed of it. You can remember the fact that under the revitalized system the Pak regime closed the press rooms in the police stations. Numerous people are walked off, tortured, gone somewhere or missing, but we are unable to hear of them.

Such cases are too many to enumerate. It is Pak Jung Hi alone whose human rights are fully guaranteed under the revitalized system.

SOCIAL SECURITY LAW, A TYPICAL EXAMPLE OF "LEGAL" DEPRIVATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS

Article 10 of the "Revitalization Constitution" provides for "punishment for public peace" which is not found in the former Constitution. It is a really dreadful provision for suppression of human rights allowing the administrative authority to arbitrarily restrict the people's personal liberty or put them into custody without the finding of the judiciary. This punishment, a vestige of the previous age which runs counter to the great principle of the modern laws based on the policy of legal incrimination, appeared in Nazi Germany or under Japanese rule dur-

ing the Pacific War. It has reappeared like a specter in the Revitalization Constitution of south Korea in the 1970's. And, on the basis of this provision for "punishment for public peace" the "Social Security Law" was enacted the year before last to suppress the political prisoners.

According to this Social Security Law, almost all those who were convicted of committing political offence or the offence involving dangerous thoughts after liberation are "liable to punishment for public peace." Even in case they do not commit any new illegal actions, the Executive is allowed to arrest and detain them without warrants at its own discretion, or put them into custody for an indefinite period without court trials. You are well aware, I believe, the fact that those liable to this punishment, who are completely deprived of their human rights and whom the Pak regime can put into custody for life at any time if it feels like doing so, include Bishop Chi Hak Sun, Mr. Kim Ji Ha, Rev. Pak Hyong Gyu, Mr. Cho Yong Rae, Mr. Li Chol and many other intellectuals, religionists and young people engaging in the student movement.

We must not forget the facts that the scope of those liable to such punishment will be extended without limit in the future and that the second and third social security laws will appear to legally deprive all the human rights of the entire people.

**NO FREEDOM, NO JUSTICE, NO PEACE AND
NO UNIFICATION SO LONG AS THERE IS
REVITALIZED SYSTEM**

There are ever so many more reasons for our opposition to the revitalized system. By the guarantee of this system the Pak regime enjoys privilege at its heart's content, corrupts and degenerates as much as it can. The Pak regime's payoff to US politicians which was exposed abroad last year is an intolerable scandal greatly hurting the pride of our nation. This alone affords sufficient reason for our demand of the removal of the revitalized system and the resignation of the Pak regime.

Let me take a broader view of things. The Pak regime has used the ardent desire of our nation for unifying the divided country as a mere tool for maintaining its power and dealt with the north-south problem arbitrarily, thereby sporting with the destiny of the whole nation.

It advocated the abandonment of the sense of hostility between the north and south Koreans yesterday, but today stirs it up to the extreme proclaiming "a state of war." This is solely aimed at the Pak regime's prolonged office, which can be fully proved by the mere fact that in 1972 it deceived the people, saying that the Revitalization Constitution was for peaceful unification.

The revitalized system is not designed for peace or unification. Its purpose is the perpetuation of the system itself, that is, the continued seizure of power

by the Pak regime. We must know this fact and must in no way have any illusion about it. And we must clearly know the fact that for its continual existence the Pak regime prefers the incessant creation of war atmosphere and the perpetual division of the nation to peace and unification. What is worse, it does not hesitate to invite to the Korean peninsula even a nuclear war which might extinguish our nation or, if possible, bring in the Japanese army, if it is helpful to its longer existence.

The revitalized system is the enemy not only of human rights and democracy but also of peace and nations. Unless this system is overthrown there can be no freedom, no human rights, no social justice, no national dignity, no peace or no unification. Why should we not oppose the revitalized system?

2. THE ROAD OPEN TO CHRISTIANS UNDER REVITALIZED SYSTEM

Under the "obvious tyrannical oppression" called the revitalized system we, the people who want to follow Christ, believe in human dignity and love freedom, justice and peace, have no alternative but to take the road of uncompromising struggle, the road of resistance and, if necessary, the road of revolution. And many people, together with the church, have followed this road, though it is hard to tell they have done their utmost. I think we are now at

a time when we should deeply reflect on and think over the tasks of the resistance movement of those Christians who are opposed to the revitalized system.

ABOLITION OF OPPRESSION—ONE OF MISSIONS OF CHRISTIANS

What are the Christians?...

We are not good Christians if we assume an unconcerned air when even a very insignificant person among our brethren is hungry, thirsty, ill and imprisoned and if we do not share his pain and endeavour to relieve him of his suffering. We must always know this clearly. We should not deceive ourselves by throwing some pennies in the charity pot or conducting a "movement for assisting unfortunate neighbours. It will not put an end to the pains of our brethren. The sufferings of our brethren whose human rights are trampled underfoot come unquestionably from political oppression, and unless this oppression is removed, their sufferings will not be eliminated thoroughly.

Here are a few instances.

You are well aware of the wretched plight of our workers and you all feel sorry for it, I believe. And it goes without saying that for them to lead a life worth leading as human being it is essential that the trade unions must be well organized and the labour movement conducted properly. But it is a political process and political order that determine whether

the freedom of these trade unions and the labour movement is guaranteed or restricted and suppressed.

This is clearly shown, among others, by our reality today in which the truncheons of the riot police are usually mobilized everytime labour disputes grow serious. It is sheer nonsense that we bestow such a kind of charity as aiding unfortunate neighbours on the workers while closing our eyes to such order of political oppression which is the basic cause of their continued sufferings.

Since I was imprisoned here, I have met countless numbers of our brethren who have probably been most oppressed and maltreated in our society. They are "confirmed criminals" at whom the world spits, calling them pickpockets, burglars, thieves, persons apprehensive of committing crimes, ex-convicts, ruffians, and the like. Many of them are those ex-convicts who are quite accustomed to prison life. There are also no small number of people who have been so often imprisoned that the total prison term is longer than their life outside.

Whenever I, as a priest, meet them, I feel anguish and deep remorse for my duties. What have I done and can I do for them, my brethren and the same human beings as I? Preaching? Penitence? Prayer? Baptism? Are these the solutions?

They are mostly orphans or those who left their poor, ill-fated families. It is not too much to say that they are the forsaken by birth. You might hear more than once that those who committed dreadfully sinister crimes would calmly tell the reporters ask-

ing his criminal motive: "I wished to earn money and make a decent living like others." They have been trampled underfoot and persecuted in the reality in which wealth is everything, in the reality in which he who amasses money by whatever means is always well treated and he who has no money is bound to be trampled down. Why shouldn't they have a hostile feeling against this world?

Finding themselves in this society where it is difficult for the poor and weak to make money no matter how honestly they work, they are firmly resolved "to make money by any means." What other choice is left to them if not a sink of iniquity?

If we are real Christians who feel heartily sorry for the pains of these brethren of ours, we must strive to create, first of all, a world where there is no persecution of orphans and widows and no maltreatment of the weak, and establish an order in which there is no oppression and abandonment, all love each other like real brothers and sisters and all people, without exception, make much of such human concern. And our action to realize such order of justice and love in this world cannot but be an action against oppression that prevents its realization.

Now we can draw a conclusion, and speak out boldly without hesitation: the action of real Christians should be a political one in the present condition of our country.

NO "NEUTRALITY"

The church's movement against oppression is a movement for the oppressed people. We ourselves should be the oppressed. We must in no way try to maintain "neutrality." By reason of the fact that the grace of the Lord descends equally on the good and the wicked, we must not feign ignorance of the oppressed, nor must we try to compromise with the oppressor.

The only true way of loving the oppressor is to make sure that he will not commit a crime any more. If we truly love Pak Jung Hi, we must break that political order of oppression which has made him a slave to power and pull him down from the throne. You must not attend the sumptuous "morning prayer meetings" for the oppressors. It will only lead to encourage them to commit more crimes. If you have to say grace for the oppressors do this way without fail: "O Lord, drive crime complex out of their hearts and pull them down from the evil seat of power to set them free."

We must not make a compromise. Compromise is alien to love. A true love is not the leaf or branch of crime. It is a sword to cut its roots.

Our love for the oppressor must only be manifested in the fierce uncompromising struggle against him. Thus it will root out oppression and deliver the oppressor.

3. TO BE AMONG THE OPPRESSED

In order to stand firmly by the oppressed masses, first of all, we must go to them and find ourselves in the midst of them. Nay, we must identify ourselves with them.

If our church of today is becoming the church embracing only the middle-class people or the privileged classes, there is nothing more sorrowful than this. A church that is absorbed in erecting a gorgeous church with the rich believers' contributions, in disregard of the afflicted people, it is no longer a church.

In our society today there are so many people—the workers who can ill afford the time to attend divine service once or twice a week because of long hours of hard work, and the common people who are barely eking out their living. You should not take issue with church membership. When they cannot come to the church, the latter must go to them. It is the most cardinal mission of the church, the body of Christ, to bring them glad news and proclaim liberation.

If the church wants to be a church for the oppressed popular masses, it should, first of all, become a church of the masses.

RESTORATION OF HUMANITY

The primary task of the church in the midst of the masses is to get them to be awakened to their human right and human dignity and their strength endowed with by God and arouse them to fight for the restoration of their own human dignity against the oppressive power to which they have so far submitted in silence. This movement for "restoration of humanity," which is designed to help the masses of the people, who get resigned, discouraged and inhumane due to protracted oppression, to rise up from resignation, should be the basic strategy of the church in the midst of the popular masses. It is impossible for the church to give them human rights in charity.

CHURCH'S FULL SUPPORT TO POPULAR MOVEMENT

We must also render assistance to the struggle of the masses who have risen up to regain their own human rights, making the most of all the manpower and material resources of the church. Has there so far been nothing for the church of our country to reflect on in this respect?

Let me cite an instance.

The primary task for the popular movement is, needless to say, to organize the masses of the people. I do not think our church has done its best to

help this work. In south Korea there are still numerous unorganized workers. What is more, in case there are trade unions formally, they may be no genuine organization of workers except a very few cases.

The churches of south Korea cannot claim that they have induced all the churchmen and believers to do their best at all times to help the broad masses of workers in organizing themselves and provided them with all the possible church facilities, places and efforts so that they might use them in their struggle for organization. Evidently there are millions of afflicted workers, but of so many publications issued by all the south Korean churches, only unusually small numbers are devoted to the workers. This fact alone is enough to make us feel shame.

Once resolved, the south Korean church can help the millions of unorganized workers to organize themselves and encourage and support them in their struggle to improve their inhuman working conditions by themselves and to lead a life worth leading as human being. In that course we will come to clash and fight against all shades of economic and political power that have so far suppressed the workers. And in the midst of this struggle we shall come to stand by them.

The same is the case with our penetration into the peasants to help them in making their movement independent and democratizing their agricultural cooperatives, or with our presence among the fishermen, urban paupers and the inhabitants in the pollutional areas.

DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT AND DEMOCRATIZATION MOVEMENT

The church's activities in the midst of such popular masses will be helpful to laying a secure foundation for democracy in our country.

Our discernment in the endeavour to assist the labour movement, peasants' movement and all the other movements of the oppressed masses must not be confined to regarding these masses of the people as particular socio-economic groups. Upholding their special socio-economic rights and interests should not be our sole goal.

We must, above all, consider them to be men of dignity and believe in the facts that they can devote themselves not only to their own interests but to the common interests of all the brethren and that in order to live freely in a dignified manner they will not fall a victim to their immediate interests and can fight for the public interests in defiance of persecution and sufferings. And we must help them do so.

We must also consider them to be the citizens embraced in a political unit and realize clearly that the basic system of oppression that prolongs their sufferings is the very inhuman political power, that is, the present repressive revitalized system. We must learn the plain truth that so long as the political order is not democratized in the true sense of the word, the oppressed masses of the people cannot

be treated like human beings, although one or two of their particular demands for rights and interests are met, and we must help the popular masses keenly realize this truth, so that people of all strata and the oppressed masses in all areas may not only fight for their own particular rights and interests but also wage a struggle, united as one, for the common goal—the destruction of the revitalized system and the establishment of a genuinely democratic political order.

Only then will our popular movement be able to create vital power for the genuine democratization of our country, and only by so doing, will we be able to remove the gap between the intellectuals-led political freedom movement and the separate struggles of the masses of various strata for their rights and interests, which is a problem we are now facing, and lead all the people along the single road to genuine democracy and genuine social justice.

**CHURCH MUST STRIVE TO PROCLAIM
LIBERATION IN ALL PLACES WHERE
THERE IS OPPRESSION.**

In all places where there are the masses of the people whose human rights are trodden down by oppression, there must be the efforts of the church to proclaim human dignity and liberation from oppression. In every place where there are sufferings and sorrows of the popular masses there must not be such a thing that the church, the body of Christ,

exhibits ignorance and indolence.

All the Christians without exception should be drawn in this effort of the church. We must in no way exclude those unknown Christians, who hold no membership in the church and do not call themselves Christians, from joining in our ranks. They, too, should be given all the assistance and conveniences the church can.

When we are among the masses, we must not force them to give lip service to Christ but induce them to take part in the liberation work of Christ in deed only. We must give them the faith that the dignity of a human being does consist not in leading a life of servility as a resigned slave but in living as a man seeking justice and freedom even if crucified while fighting. We must give them the hope of resurrection that the oppressive power cannot prevail over the power of justice and that freedom will certainly emerge victorious.

We must set in motion all the propaganda organs and media in the possession of the church and explain to the popular masses their human rights, the oppressive structure overriding them, and the struggle against that oppression. We must also mobilize the same and raise our voice of criticism on all the high-handed acts of the oppressor who tramples them underfoot. Above everything else, today we must put up a struggle together with the people in order to destroy the revitalized system that keeps them in bondage of slavery....

4. A CROSS OF TODAY

We must keep in mind that our basic and perspective task is to fight against all kinds of oppression in the midst of the people of various strata and, at the same time, we must not forget even a moment that our primary, urgent immediate task for it is to unite all efforts, together with all the people desirous of democracy, and crush the revitalized system. It is true that some section of our church has of late exerted no small effort in this respect.

It cannot but be a shame to all of us that in spite of the existence of millions of Christians who believe in the love of Christ and justice we still see the open maintenance of the disgraceful repressive system that dishonours man and profanes God.

SILENCE MUST BE BROKEN

Let's first dismiss all fears, break the silence and speak out.

We are demanding the freedom of speech, and we must first exercise the freedom of speech granted by God. We are demanding the removal of the emergency measures, and we must first ignore them and speak out what we want to.

Let's criticize on their corruption and privilege,

lay bare the previous instances of human rights violated, tell the pathetic stories of the oppressed people, and raise our voice loudly everywhere in demand of the repeal of the Revitalization Constitution, rescission of the emergency decrees, abolition of the Social Security Law and the release of all political prisoners. Let us inform the whole world of the truth of the bribery scandals of the Pak regime and talk without hesitation what we ought to in defiance of the taboo placed by them on the pretext of "groundless rumours." Let us propagate our faith in democracy to all people and discuss about the struggle against the revitalized system at all possible places without confining this work to prayers and divine services in the narrow buildings of the churches or in the sanctuaries where believers gather themselves. Our effeminacy unbecoming to Christians, which is revealed in keeping silence in face of the emergency measures and breaking it only when these measures are removed, has been the chief cause of the continued existence of the revitalized system up to this date.

TO OPPOSE OPPRESSION IS TO HONOUR GOD

We must express our will not only by our mouths but also by our bodies. We must not hesitate to express our collective will. Why should we believers are dispersed in all directions right after we have divine service in a low, dignified voice when our beloved young students, hit on their heads with po-

lice truncheons, are bleeding while staging demonstrations? The conventional prejudice that regards the expression of collective will at the church as something like an agitation impairing the solemnity of a sanctuary is a common evil our church should overcome without fail today.

The cross of Christ we have to bear is not something like pretty and soft silk; it is a very coarse and rugged one. Why should we avoid the expression of our collective will and hesitate to do so? When I saw the waves of those people who, in face of the pains of this dark age, had resolutely risen up for the sake of democracy and social justice, prepared for arrest, torture, imprisonment, execution and other persecution, my heart was filled with the feeling that I took a holy sight such as I had never observed at any solemn ceremony. The expression of our collective will based on this situation is the very offering which God is pleased with more than incense burning, praying on the first and the Sabbath, and false rallies.

The Christians must be ready to put their will into action time and again, if necessary, through all rallies. The church must be determined to go into any numbers of decisive actions, if need be, even through any rallies and functions it sponsors. We must be prepared for actions as ones who love justice and resist by surprise the violence of the oppressor who shows no repentance.

Without such firm (or firmer) determination on our part, the obstinate, hard-headed oppressor will make no concession at all and tyranny will not re-

cede from the scene. We must clearly know this truth.

USING FAITH AS SHIELD AND EMPLOYING THE TACTIC OF BEARING THE CROSS

Besides, there are a great deal of things the church and Christians can and should do to overthrow the revitalized system. We must sincerely seek for all these things and put them into practice.

In doing so, we will, of course, come across many difficulties. But in all difficult situations we must not harbour distrust and lose heart, but have the faith of a lover and the courage of a believer. A lot of people may be arrested and our cause may suffer many setbacks. In order to effectively attain our goal in defiance of oppression and setbacks at given moments, we will do well to adopt as many wise tactics as possible, and we must do so.

However, let us always bear deeply in our minds only one tactic, the tactic of bearing the cross. Let us make our faith our weapon, the faith that a grain of wheat will bear many grains....

You don't think the church will perish because the oppressors drive nails into the door of its building. You don't think Christianity will cease to be in this world because all the fathers, all the pastors and all the Christians are arrested and jailed. At that moment, really at that very moment, we will be victorious and the Christianity of south Korea will resuscitate from death and shout, "Everything is real-

ized!"

I dream a dream here.

I wish that as long as there is oppression, and unless the revitalized system with its ugly sight disappears for good beyond the horizon of history of our nation, these narrow prison cells and wards will be filled to the breaking point with all the Christians following the path of Christ. I wish this place is cleared forever of the miserable sights of all the thieves, burglars, ruffians and ordinary offenders who are wandering in the slough of contempt and persecution, taking all the crimes of society upon themselves.

I feel very fine here, too. This is the place for stirring up indignation against those who grind the people's faces and thereby training us to be honest Christians who do not yield to the crime of this age and are not seduced by it.

Here we, face to face with the Lord, can offer a prayer everyday to atone for the crime of our failing to follow Christ in the past, grinning and bearing it, only taking up our own crosses. Here we can see more vividly and poignantly the depth of contradictions of our time and the agony the downtrodden people experience due to that contradiction, and cleanse our souls with a purer love for our brethren.

FOR THE STRAY SHEEP

Lastly, I want to earnestly ask a favor of you and myself. Please, don't forget the stray sheep. I

hope you will remember them at all times and take care of them. We have so many sheep lost and forgotten. Of the political prisoners here, there are many who are being forgotten or have already passed out of mind.

It is hoped there will not be such a case that the persons involved in the March 1 case or some widely-known persons alone are made the prime objects of prayer and of campaign for the release of political prisoners. There are still many prisoners who were arrested under the decree of April 3 but are not yet released, many youths and students who are imprisoned on the charge of involvement in various cases, and many other unknown political prisoners. I beg you not to put out of your minds even one of them in divine service.

Please cherish and protect like the apples of your eyes those young people who are leading a life of anguish in hiding on account of their struggle for democracy. See that the gatherings of the families of the political prisoners are not confined to ones for the relief of some individual persons, but develop into ones dealing with general problems of all political prisoners with the participation of all their families.

In particular, I want you to pay attention to the problem of those who are now undergoing sufferings due to the Social Security Law. I heard here that at the time when the Social Security Law was put in force in the summer of the year before last several thousands of innocent people were arrested and imprisoned as ones to be disposed of for the pres-

ervation of public peace, and that later many of them were let out after undergoing procedure of examination, but some several hundreds were sent to the prisons in Taejon and other places to be jailed as ones "to be watched and protected for public peace." There is no knowing who they are, how many more people have been arrested and what they have become of. Please do have concern about their problem, pray and strive for their release.

Here are also workers who are imprisoned for their labour movement. When you ask for the release of the political prisoners, do not forget these workers.

Here are many unknown people who were arrested under the Anti-Communist Law and the National Security Law. Unlike other prisoners, they wear "red labels" on their breasts and are treated more cruelly. I am told that in the Taejon prison there are many political offenders who are serving 15 or 20 years' terms. Do pray for them, too, irrespective of whether they were involved in the communist movement or not. To take a wide view of the matter, they are the victims of the historical tragedy of our nation caused by the national division, and they are, above all, our brethren, too.

Let us pray for all the stray sheep. Let us pray for all of them who are trodden underfoot, persecuted and tormented. Let us pray and take action for the repeal of the revitalized system and for the victory of democracy, for the removal of all kinds of injustice and oppression, for the realization of social justice and human rights, and for the unification of

our divided nation and the end of the protracted tragedy and sufferings of our nation caused by its division.

In our society there was a person who, bearing his cross, had followed the path of Christ more faithfully than anyone else. He is, as you may know well, Chon Tae Il, who engaged in the labour movement at the Pyonghwa Market and burned himself to death on November 13, '1970, at the premature age of 22. He left a note at the very moment when he made a heroic resolution. I would like to quote the following passage from the note at this very juncture to offer prayer together with you:

"I must go back.

I must go back without fail.

To the side of my poor brothers and sisters, to my spiritual birthplace, to my young brothers and sisters in the Pyonghwa Market who are all my ideal.

To those weak living bodies whom I ought to take care of, taking so many hours and making visionary plans, which I swore on my life.

I'm going to efface myself and destroy myself before going back. Have patience and wait a bit. In order not to part from you I will devote my soft self. You are my spiritual birthplace.

It is Saturday today, the second Saturday of August. On this day when I have taken a firm resolution and when the innocent living bodies are withering, I struggle to become a drop of dew. O God, have pity and mercy on me."

Let us pray together.

“NO ONE CAN BE EXCLUDED FROM ANTI-DICTATORSHIP STRUGGLE”

—Democratization of South Korea and Christianity—

Kim Jae Jun

Chairman of US Headquarters
of the National Congress for
the Restoration of Democracy
in South Korea and the Pro-
motion of Unification

The November 1975 issue of the Japanese politico-theoretical magazine Sekai carried Kim Jae Jun's article, "Why Do the South Korean Churches Fight?"

Kim Jae Jun, who was granted the title of honorary rector of the Hanguk Theological Seminary while serving as its rector, is known as the elder of the elders in the South Korean Presbyterian Church. He had also been active as one of the most important leaders in the democratization struggle under the Pak regime. For this reason he is unable to return home from his overseas travel for one year or so. Now residing in Canada, he is rendering an active support to the democratization struggle in the homeland in the capacity of Chairman of the US Headquarters of the National Congress for the Restoration of Democracy in South Korea and the Promotion of Unification. We introduce part of his article.

The Korean nation, in spite of strong pressure from the continent, has been able to preserve the life, emotion, language, thought and art peculiar to Korea and to bear out firm uniformity in culture. And the pride and self-respect of the Korean nation are not shaken in the main.

Koguryo which was ruined in the 7th century by an allied force of Silla and Tang was a big state seizing a territory extending as far as south Manchuria and a bulwark checking the southward advance of the continental forces.

After the fall of Koguryo the Korean nation had to avoid frontal clash with the continental forces. Pressure from the continent was felt as ever. Therefore, the Korean nation could not but follow a dual diplomatic policy—a policy of obliging but resisting. This policy, however, lowered the morale of the nation at times.

The 36-year-long Japanese rule over Korea repressed the spirits of the nation. The Government-General once issued an order to abrogate the subject of gymnastic exercises at schools. The reason was that it might encourage pupils' spirits. Children full of life, however, could not sit idle without doing exercises. It was indeed a rule that allowed only an aimless beastly life devoid of language, thought and judgment. After the March First Independence Movement in 1919 Japan changed its policy of rule into a cultured one, that is, a policy of assimilation. What changes did this honey-mouthed policy of "Japanization" bring to the Korean nation? None of the essential changes took place in the life of the Korean

nation itself. Though pressed into silence under Japanese rule, the Korean nation lived upholding its tradition of resisting while adapting itself to the circumstances.

REALITY OF SOUTH KOREA AND CHRISTIANITY

The joy of 1945 liberation was soon turned into a sorrow of division into the north and south. And it gave rise to the tragedy of the Korean war in 1950.

The north and the south came to harbour strong hatred for each other. It was against this historical background that anti-communist consciousness sprouted in the south. Now the north insists on peaceful reunification. It is natural, I think. The north may be waiting for the day of possible peaceful reunification when the south is beset with internal contradictions due to injustice and corruption, repression, low people's morale, pauperism, and treacherous dependence on outside forces.

Such being the situation, the Christians of the south cannot fail to feel their historical mission. It is because they think it impossible to entrust the future of south Korea to the dictator even if he puts up a certain slogan or ideology. The state is a means which exists to make human beings lead a free, righteous life. It should not be otherwise. Christianity regards it as its primary objective to relieve

human beings. It does not mean the permanent life of individuals in the other world. Preaching the gospel, as Jesus himself said, means "heralding the advent of a year when the prisoners get released, the blind persons regain their eyesight, the persecuted men get freedom and the Lord has mercy on us."

This was a declaration of human emancipation to free men both physically and mentally and a movement for the resurrection of mankind. To relieve men means, first of all, to get them free from physical diseases, penury, fetters of rule, ignorance and obscurity, and the like.

Men must be saved from the reality where they are treated like an animal, slave or lifeless thing, and be made to live like man. And man should live as a dignified being fearing nothing but God, proudly throwing back his head with the original pride in his being an "image of God." This is what Jesus dedicated all his life to. And even now he is working together with the persons devoting themselves to this cause on the arduous front. This is what the minority of the creative persons of the Korean churches believe in.

They cannot agree with dictatorship whatever sort it may be. They cannot but resist it in front. It is because dictatorship is a system which begins with killing man's freedom, that is, with dehumanizing man in any case. Christianity and dictatorship cannot coexist after all. This is our conclusion.

In the south Korean churches there are people who advocate the separation of religion from politics

and insist that the churches should not discuss politics. This is nothing but an illusion of those seeking the comforts of the churches. The church and the state must check each other, maintaining the strained relations between them. The south Korean churches, from a theological point of view, have at least the following faith in their social relationship.

1. The south Korean churches have a conviction that they are the guardian of the south Korean nation. They have kept this conviction ever since the appearance of Christianity in Korea. It has been carried forward up to this date through the March First Independence Movement and the national cultural enlightenment movement.

2. Since the revision of the Constitution for the third-term election to presidency in 1969, Pak Jung Hi has monopolized state power by plots and treachery. To maintain this usurped power he would not allow unbiased criticism. For it may expose and denounce his real colours. Hence he permits none of criticism of him under the so-called revitalized system. This is to absolutize himself, and from the viewpoint of Christianity, it is to idolize himself. The south Korean churches believe that recognizing this system should be defined as idol worship.

3. For this reason the south Korean churches have got to clearly say yes or no, either from their stand of religious confession or from their national consciousness of being the guardian of the nation. Because of their religious confession "No," a great number of south Korean Christians are put in jail or under house confinement or under round-the-clock

surveillance. They are also suffering from arrest, round-the-clock interrogation and examination of sermons. The Thursday prayer service which was held in face of such reality is under the ban. This being the situation, the Prime Minister, quoting a passage from "Letter to the Romans," orders to the Christians: "All people must submit to the authority of the superiors." However, he fails to give a thought to the obligation of the authority to submit to the justice and love of God.

4. "Love thy neighbours as thyself," this is the great charter of Christian ethics. Who are "neighbours"? They are the whole of mankind including even the enemy. It should become natural, therefore, for the south Korean people to consider their fellow countrymen as "neighbours." The difference of ideology cannot exclude this love. It runs counter to Christian conscience to take "anti-communism" as a legitimate reason for nation's split. Pak Jung Hi declared it a state policy to oppose communism. Then there cannot be the state policy, if there is no communism, the object to be fought against. Probably in his mind may not exist the like of state policy. The dictator may identify himself with the state and his words with the state policy. His deeds done so far prove that this speculation of ours is true. "Liberal democracy" cannot be said to be a state policy. From the standpoint that the fellow countrymen in the north should duly be treated with a love for the "neighbours," the south Korean churches cannot tolerate the way the Pak Jung Hi regime opposes communism for its maintenance of power. It is the

stand of the south Korean churches to establish a liberal democratic system which can materialize both individual liberty and social justice (even though it is not just the same with the American-typed capitalist system).

POPULAR CHARACTER OF SOUTH KOREAN CHURCHES

If the churches are to regard it as their duty to love the "neighbours," they should not neglect the events of human obliteration taking place in the south itself rather than they argue about the relationship with the north. Pak Jung Hi himself propagates loudly the theory on southward invasion from the north. Advocating the "defence of the capital," he creates an atmosphere of terror and dampens the public sentiment. This might have been necessary for him to evade the people's censure. It, however, has demoralized the nation. Satisfied with some effect of this faked-up terrible atmosphere, he set out to militarize the campus, intensify surveillance and control over the people through organizational cells, keep them away from information, and besiege the churches by surveillance. This may lead to obliterating human beings systematically and destroying the nation. There are no intellectuals who do not worry over it. They, however, have no means whatever to express their mind. Street demonstration, too, is

placed under taboo. Demonstration is a mere show of the citizens' will and has nothing to do with disturbance of order, riot or commotion. Nonetheless, it is now branded as a crime of rebellion. For it runs counter to the dictator's unitary principle of "order and obedience," I hear.

Pak Jung Hi has neither law nor theory. It may be said what is illegal and lawless is a law to him. The three powers are associated with the human vice of the individual to become a great vice of power. One of its examples is the fictitious People's Revolutionary Party case which produced a massive murder of the related persons by hanging. The KCIA is engaged in diabolical torture. It manufactures a false report of investigation on a communist party case. Trials are conducted in camera and countless people are put in prison in secret. Those Christians talking about human rights cannot but tremble with extreme fear. Nevertheless, they have no other way but to claim "No," standing on the side of the victims.

If the south Korean churches advocate the separation of religion from politics in such situation, it may be said to be a sort of "false tactic" aimed at churches' comforts and evasion from the reality. It means tolerating the arrogance of politics, bringing disgrace upon the honesty of Christians and degrading into a puppet of the dictatorial government. Men of that sort receive secret service allowances from the government behind the scenes and carry on propaganda in favour of it. They even deliver sermons on the basis of the government's directions. There-

fore, their argument on the separation of religion from politics does not mean refraining from mixing in politics but giving up the function of criticism against the government by participating in politics from the stand of the ruling party. Their opposition to "participation in politics" means, after all, that they oppose the struggle against power for justice and freedom, the struggle which involves tribulations.

Under the present political situation of south Korea it can be said that power belongs only to the ruling circles and justice only to the people. If the churches follow power at such a time, it just means the choice of a road to corruption. The churches, therefore, should stand by justice and discharge their duty in disregard of the possibility of its realization.

There are some motives from which the south Korean churches which followed the course of churchism in the days of Japanese rule have come to get involved in social affairs today.

1. The south Korean churches regard the August 15, 1945, liberation as a liberty presented by God and deem it their religious responsibility to defend that liberty. Accordingly, they bring religious judgement to the attempt of the dictatorial government to stamp it out directly as a treason to the favours done by God.

2. The south Korean churches appreciate the historical significance of the desire for the reunification of divided north and south Korea. It does not mean a mere restoration to the original state like rejoining a broken stuff. The south Korean churches

feel, though vaguely, that this reunification means groping for the third higher stage of unity which would lead to the future history of the world in the midst of international confrontation.

3. So, the creative minority of the south Korean churches admit that "democratic" autonomy should be established first of all in the south and that the north-south reunification should be achieved through continuous dialogue without recourse to the use of arms or reliance on foreign forces. Therefore, it should not be neglected to make a comparative study of communism and Christianity, a study of the possibilities of coexistence and dialogue between them. And the path, I think, should be sought for a unified Korea to follow toward democratic socialism sublat-ing communism and capitalism of today.

When heard of this, the KCIA would fabricate a preposterous case, charging the speaker with having contacts with Communists. It is by this means that it has tormented Christians so often up to this date in an attempt to split them. The Christians cannot but take an interest in modern politics holding sway over the human life as a whole. They do it proceeding both from the position of people and from the humanitarian stand of Christianity. Once a statement is made about politics, its speaker should bear responsibility for it and thus get himself involved deeper in politics. The south Korean churches will continue to refuse to follow, overlook or echo with the dictator's absolutism which is based on his self-importance, short-sightedness and power first policy. Even if some people (even in case of majority) are

temporarily obedient or actively work for the regime as its servants, it may be said to be the manifestation of an inevitable form of life of a small nation resisting while adapting itself.

4. The south Korean churches originally have mass character. From the start Christianity was spread among the common people. The Bible was translated in colloquial expression, the language of the people. Even at that time the national language which had been despised was used and the Chinese characters excluded. The evangelists preached the gospels of Jesus to poor peasants to make them "subjects of God." Those elites of the enlightenment movement accepted Christianity and spread it among the people. There is an episode about a nobleman named Li Sang Jae who led an enlightenment movement as a secretary of the Independence Society after he had worked as a councillor at the embassy of old Korea to the United States. He became a Christian and built a church in his home village where he preached Jesus' gospels to the peasants. In those days the peasants were almost as good as bondmen, so they were not allowed to wear the clothes and hat of a nobleman. But, he advised them to come to the church, attired in a nobleman's hat and dress.

He said: "You've become subjects of God. No nobleman is superior to them. You sons of God governing heaven and earth are far more superior nobles than ministers' children wearing the gowns of nobility, I tell you. You must walk swinging your arms, your heads thrown back." That was a silent

human revolution, a social revolution. This popular spirit underlying the south Korean churches surges up with force in case of need.

5. The south Korean churches now have got to examine the aboriginal form of Christianity. In structure and management they acquired the character of the free economic capitalist system of the United States. It was taken over from the missionaries, not adopted critically by Koreans themselves. The United States is a rich country and south Korea a poor one. In our country the poor form the majority of the population and the middle classes are in a minority. The United States is an ultra-big power dominating the world, but south Korea is fated to undergo suppression and sufferings like a fish on the chopping board of that big power. Thus, Christianity is in different conditions from country to country. Hence, there arises a doubt as to whether both the Catholic Church modelling after the long-standing Roman aristocratic system of Europe and the Protestant Church developed on the basis of the free economic capitalist system will grow and bear fruit on the soil of south Korea as they are. In south Korea Christianity should serve for the poor working people and become a guide for the recovery of humanity. Therefore, the creative minority of the south Korean churches had to go into the slum quarters of Chonggyechon and operate as spokesmen and organizers for factory workers, particularly female workers subjected to unbounded exploitation, in the name of industrial evangelism and as dissidents against injustice. On this account they are

suffering hardships and put in jail, but they feel pride and joy as well. The existing churches should not confine themselves to boasting their reservoirs brimful with water, but open the sluice gates and send irrigation water to this creative minority. This is the figure to be cut by the churches of the next generation.

Therefore, the south Korean churches go ahead, not following a Jesus in the shape of a friar or a gentleman, but looking up to the Christ of Passion who, as a friend of the ill-treated and forlorn people, demonstrated, was arrested and imprisoned and finally killed for their sake. This is not a self-abuse but a struggle fated to victory. A clear sign of this move was shown on the occasion of the Easter of 1973, and a showdown with the oppressive Pak regime mounted. This is of great significance.

AN APPEAL TO THE FREE WORLD AND THE WORLD CHURCHES

Unfortunately, Pak Jung Hi himself is a man who has no national consciousness as a Korean, no experience of struggle for the independence and freedom of Korea, and no understanding and experience of democracy in his life. In this respect, he has no human and social foundation. In the course of receiving militarist education he acquired a burning wish to live to the end of his life as a Japanese

armyman loyal to the Japanese Emperor. Therefore, greeting the country's liberation in 1945 in Manchuria as a Japanese officer, he was rather embarrassed than delighted. He betrayed his mates in the army, but could survive and keep himself there by the help of his colleagues in the military. In 1961 he staged a military coup d'etat to set up an anti-communist government patronized by the United States. Afterwards, his regime changed its garb from military to civilian and then Yusin. But his only aim was to maintain and extend his power.

The struggle of the people against him continued without letup. Under it flows a big stream. That is why the Pak regime is becoming tougher with the passage of time. In particular, the Christianity which has so far kept a prudent attitude has come to fight it in the public eye. The Catholic and Protestant Churches have formed a united front. Now the entire people have become the imaginary foe of the Pak regime. They feel fear and uneasiness like a jailbreaker or a deserter. The country has turned to a big prison. The Pak regime is trying to justify its abnormal suppression in the name of an anti-communist system.

Schools and churches are surrounded and weakened, kept apart from society. They are being destroyed piecemeal due to the splitting manoeuvres. It can be said the south Korean churches have too many difficulties to break through this line of encirclement. But no signs of abandoning their struggle for civil and human rights are to be seen.

In such situation, the role to be played by the

Koreans and churches abroad is important. The Korean democratic forces abroad must attack the line of besiege laid in the homeland from the rear. They must break into the Pak regime's encircling net and conduct guerrilla operations for embarrassment and piecemeal destruction. Work with the free world countries, Japan and the United States in particular, must also be carried out positively. At the same time, solidarity with the peoples of these countries must be expanded and strengthened. Vigorous struggles of all types must be waged to make the politics of strength and the world politics dedicated to national interests develop in the direction of defending human rights and national and international justice.

The people in the homeland put great expectations to such struggles abroad. After the Thursday prayer meeting was banned at home, there is a growing move to take it over abroad. The activities of overseas democratic organizations are also becoming more brisk. The church is like the body of Jesus. A true church, if any, forms one body as that of Jesus. A pain in an arm or a leg causes a pain in the whole body. That is to say, the pain of the south Korean churches is that of the world's churches. I am delighted, therefore, to see the ties of pain have been formed. Even abroad we have many ways to establish such ties—exchange of information, donation of funds, dispatch of investigation groups, encouragement to the sufferers, intensification of solidarity consciousness, etc. Most important of all these are exchange of information and donation of funds. We hope that the world churches will pay a

deeper attention to south Korea and its churches in distress.

The anti-dictatorship democratic movement in south Korea is a struggle for human restoration, a task of the whole world. It must naturally be developed into a people's front. Hearing the news that the citizens crowding the streets had remained mere onlookers in face of the struggle of students, the arrest of church leaders and the demonstration of several thousand bishops, nuns and parishioners for justice, I felt like wailing over our nation's morale being at such a low ebb. No one can be excluded from the anti-dictatorship struggle.

The south Korean students and churches have so far employed non-violent and reconciliatory methods in their resistance to the Pak's dictatorial system. Such methods of struggle, I think, should be made elastic according to the situation. Nothing would be more gratifying if we could achieve our objectives in a non-violent, reconciliatory way. But if violence should be the only way for solution, there is no other way but to choose it.

Jesus, too, used violence for cleaning the sanctuary. Modern states are built up on the basis of violence. Only its forms of expression are complex and exquisite. Reality forces the Christianity to make a choice between love and violence. Just as there is the word, "a whip of love," violence used out of a love for the nation and human beings should not simply be interpreted in a dogmatic and schematic way. In particular, the "structural reform" of a state does not simply mean a free, normal re-

form, but belongs to a revolution.

A revolution, big or small, presupposes violence, without which it cannot win. We may take issue with the potentialities and possibilities of different forms of revolutionary violence in the realities of south Korea, but I wouldn't like to touch upon it here. I only want to tell the comrades and friends at home and abroad that the anti-dictatorship democratic movement in south Korea must not end with a resistance of simple and green scholars.

“SOUTH KOREA IS A HUGE PRISON MINUS BARS”

Rim Min Sik

South Korean Democrat in Exile

According to a report, Rim Min Sik, south Korean democrat who has sought refuge in a foreign country, made a following speech at the second meeting of the International Lawyers' Committee for Democracy and Human Rights in South Korea, which was held in Paris on November 6, 1977:

On behalf of the entire democrats and patriotic people of south Korea, I express deep thanks to the sponsor of this meeting for having invited me here.

I also extend sincere gratitude to you for providing me with an opportunity of working off the deep-seated grudge and wrath of the south Korean people who are deprived of the freedom of speech and have no one to appeal to.

This meeting will vigorously inspire our people in their just struggle for the democracy of south Korea and national reunification.

In October last year the International Lawyers' Committee for Democracy and Human Rights in South Korea was formed just here in Paris and held its first meeting successfully. At that time the

patriotic and democratic personages of south Korea were convinced of the justness of their cause, felt the daily growing international solidarity, and intensified their brave struggle against the Pak Jung Hi dictatorship.

I firmly believe that this second meeting too attended by noted lawyers of the world will mark another important occasion for instilling new militancy and courage and unshakable faith in victory into the south Korean people who are fighting for democracy, civil rights and the independent reunification of the country.

Pak Jung Hi's "Yusin" (revitalization) dictatorship is a detestable snag in the way of the democracy of south Korea and the independent peaceful reunification of the country; it is an open challenge to the trends of the times and a wanton violation of human conscience.

To curbe this dictatorship is therefore the most pressing task of the south Korean people and the common cause of the progressive mankind.

I think this meeting too is a link in the chain of the international movement for denouncing and thwarting the tyrannical "Yusin" dictatorship of Pak Jung Hi, speaking for the very will of the south Korean people and human conscience.

I am going to lay bare the true colours of Pak Jung Hi's "Yusin" dictatorship which is now exercised in south Korea.

Before condemning the violation of human rights in south Korea I would like to explain what is south Korea like, what sort of "country" it is.

As any of you who have been to south Korea may admit, south Korea is the most despotic "fascist police state" in the present era.

People often speak of Hitler's Germany, Mussolini's Italy or Tojo's Japan as a fascist state and of South Africa and Chile as such today.

In no East or West, however, has there ever been such a monstrous "police state" as south Korea of today where the US army is stationed and traitor Pak Jung Hi is reigning over as "President"—the "police state" where ruthless fascist terrorism is prevalent and democracy and civil rights are mercilessly trampled underfoot.

After visiting south Korea Mr. Wald, Professor of Harvard University gave his impression with the word, "I have travelled many countries of the world, but have never seen such a formidable terror rule as in that country." British Journal *Labour Monthly* wrote: "The Seoul laws admit the only one right, the right of silence. Democracy and the elementary right of the people are ignored. People will see such a country only in Seoul."

Out of the south Korean population the forces in the service of people's suppression are over 4.5 million strong. In other words, one for every eight residents is a repressive agent, and 40 of such agents per square kilometre are deployed over the land of south Korea.

In particular, the "KCIA" staffed with 400,000 special agents stretches its evil claws to all people except Pak Jung Hi, and to all areas, all organs and all enterprises except Pak's "Blue House." There is

a huge repressive machinery consisting of the police, court and procurators' office, military investigation office, "ROK army" and the like with the "KCIA," which is invested with unbridled authority and plays ducks and drakes with money, as the backbone. Its personnel watch every move of the people, examine and question them now and again and make no scruples of detaining and murdering them.

Thus south Korea has been converted into a huge prison minus the bars.

South Korea is not only covered with dense networks of the repressive apparatuses but also is under the sway of the fascist laws of every sort.

The Pak "regime" has cooked up over 5,000 fascist laws since his ascent to power. Following the "Yusin October" in 1972 alone, it has revised or framed up over 3,500 laws of this kind.

All these evil laws are filled with the provisions for incriminating, imprisoning and hanging people at any time.

In particular, as pointed out in the "White Paper on the Suppression in South Korea" at this meeting, the "Yusin Constitution," "Anti-Communist Law," "National Security Law," "Social Security Law," "Emergency Measure" and others are the worst laws the world annals of legislation have ever seen.

I will not mention of the viciousness and illegality of these "laws" at length here as they have been analysed in the "White Paper on the Suppression in South Korea."

In a word, they are aimed to back up Pak Jung Hi as the life-time president holding the three po-

wers of legislation, judicature and administration in his grip and to make all people his slaves.

Spreading the network of such fascist evil laws and repressive apparatuses over the land of south Korea, the Pak Jung Hi fascist dictatorial "regime" is riding roughshod over the people and carrying on an absolute tyrannical government at will.

Thus the south Korean people under the dictatorship of the Pak "regime" have been deprived of even the last shred of freedom and democracy, and their rights and worth as human beings blotted out.

I think Pak Jung Hi has established such dictatorship in south Korea with the ulterior purpose of stifling the people's aspiration for freedom, democracy and national reunification, realizing his life-time presidency and perpetuating country's division.

That is why the Pak "regime" is feverishly committing such criminal acts as trampling down people's freedom, democracy and civil rights by dint of fascist evil laws and repressive machinery.

Since it came to power the Pak "regime" has kept south Korea in a state of emergency issuing repressive emergency orders on dozens of occasions in succession including five "martial laws," two "garrison decrees" and nine "emergency measures."

And whenever their rule was exposed to a grave danger, they rigged up various "cases," kept down the just movement of the people for democracy and the independent reunification of the country and cracked down harshly on the patriots and democrats.

Since its accession to office, the Pak "regime"

cooked up over 260 big "cases" for political suppression including the "People's Revolutionary Party case," "Liberation Strategic Party case," "East Berlin case," "Revolutionary Party for Reunification case," "National Federation of Democratic Youth and Students case," "Kim Dae Jung abduction case," "Declaration for Democracy and National Salvation case" and "case of Korean students in Japan studying in south Korea." It killed more than 23,000 patriots after putting them on murderous trials.

This means that in the past 16 years of its rule the Pak "regime" rigged up 16 big political repressive "cases" every year, more than one "case" every month, and mercilessly tried and executed an average of some 90 patriots in each "case."

This is the fact no history of any country in the world has ever seen.

In the "case of the National Federation of Democratic Youth and Students" framed up in 1974 alone, the reasonless and conscienceless Pak "regime" arrested over 4,000 students and personages of various strata at one sweep, who had voiced against the "Yusin" dictatorship and for democracy and civil rights, and insanely murdered 253 of them after trying them at the "emergency military tribunal."

In 1968 the "KCIA" arrested and questioned thousands of personages of different circles who fought for democracy and the peaceful reunification of the country on a charge of their involvement in the "case of the Revolutionary Party for Reunification." It detained 158 and tried 73 of them to sen-

tence them to capital or severe punishment including death sentence and penal servitude for life. The Pak "regime" ruthlessly killed nine personages including Kim Jong Tae, Chairman of the Seoul City Committee of the RPR, and Choe Yong Do, Chairman of the South Cholla Provincial Committee of the RPR. It blacklisted more than 9,000 family members and relatives of those implicated in the "RPR case" and has placed them under constant surveillance.

At the time of the "Ullung Island case" too, traitor Pak Jung Hi rounded up 15,000 people of 15 years and up out of 28,000 islanders and examined and tortured them day and night in his effort to hunt out the patriots who were fighting there for freedom, democracy, civil rights and peaceful reunification.

More than 5,200 houses in that island were searched all at once and the roofs and ceilings of over 510 houses in the north side were pulled down during the search.

It will be not too much to say that it was a large-scale human slaughtering operation.

There is no limit to arresting and repression by the Pak "regime."

It arrests and imprisons anyone who falls out of its favour regardless of whether he is ex-"President" or a "presidential candidate" or an aged invalid or a teenager. The "case of Kim Dae Jung's abduction" and the "case of the Declaration for Democracy and National Salvation," both of which had made the world gasp, fully laid bare the reckless repressive atrocities of the Pak "regime."

As you know, Pak Jung Hi kidnapped Kim Dae

Jung in Tokyo in broad daylight and detained ex-“President” Yun Bo Son, religionist Ham Sok Hon close to 80 and other democratic personages merely because they had claimed democracy and national salvation.

The Pak “regime” branded the arrested as “pro-Communists,” “rebellious elements,” “violators of the election law” and what not.

Our people are leading a life worse than death in the dark society with their mouths gagged, their ears stuffed, their eyes blindfolded.

Under the present political situation of south Korea it is a foolish illusion for the people to expect the freedom of speech, the press, assembly, association and demonstration and the freedom of ideology, conscience, religion and political activities.

The Pak “regime” only solicits the south Korean people to bow and flatter to the dictatorship unconditionally and support and praise it absolutely.

My friend working in a local newspaper office told me that the south Korean newspapers had not undergone so severe a trial as today in over ten years of his newspaper career.

He said that he had been placed under constant watch ever since he was examined by the “KCIA” agent in his newspaper office for two days. The reason is that early May last he intended to carry his article based on the miserable plight of the residents in a certain rural village and on the bad crop of last year. Marking the anniversary of the May 16 military coup staged by Pak Jung Hi, my friend ought to have had written an article hailing the

exploits of the present "government" instead of that critical article.

Today planted in the newspaper offices, broadcasting stations and news agencies of south Korea are "KCIA" agents who direct the whole news coverage and editing and shadow, watch, threaten and arrest conscientious journalists.

Due to such despotism, the press of south Korea is failing to fulfil its function as the spreader of the truth and the air of society.

Our people are in such a position as to get a vague idea of important home news through foreign news media, not through the home newspapers and radio reports.

The press exists only to speak for the "Blue House" forsaken by the people and to serve as a tool for converting justice into injustice, turning away from the truth.

In south Korea there is no campus freedom either.

The Pak Jung Hi "regime" fears more than anybody else the young students who are keen to the trends of the times and have a high sense of justice and patriotic ardour. Hence it keeps stretching its tentacles of suppression to them.

One special agent or plainclothes man for every ten students is planted in every school to spy out every move of the students. The life of every student from primary school to college is put on record. Any progressive move of student would affect his going to work after graduation and even the life of his family and relatives.

The father of a student, my acquaintance, had been running a rice mill in a local district. But he was walked off to a police station and handled roughly because his son had participated in a student movement. He even found himself hard to keep running his rice mill.

The freedom of religion has also been buried in south Korea.

The religionists there are forced to bow their heads before the "Yusin" dictatorship. A religious rite cannot be held without the permission of the authorities. The content of each sermon has to pass a censorship. Churches are searched by the armed police without notice. Those believers who advocate democracy and the protection of human rights are thrown behind bars undeservedly.

Bishop Chi Hak Sun and other religionists were put on the military tribunal on a charge of violating the "emergency measure" simply because they had exposed the corruption of the ruling elites and voiced for social democratization.

It is obvious that under such situation there can be no freedom of religion, no freedom of religious activities.

In south Korea the freedom of political activities is also something like a mirage in the desert.

The formation of any political party or organization protecting the rights and interests of the people, to say nothing of that of workers' and peasants' parties, is tabooed, and even a legal opposition party is extremely restricted from its activity and under the constant threat of suppression.

Even the members of the "National Assembly" who are made free to speak at its sessions are punishable for their parliamentary statements.

One opposition member was taken to the "KCIA" and interrogated because he had blamed the torture politics and claimed the dissolution of the "KCIA" at a "National Assembly" session.

"KCIA" agents broke into his house at small hours and walked him off to their office. They blurted: "At the National Assembly you dared to mouth about our use of torture and demand the liquidation of our intelligence agency, didn't you? Now you will see what the intelligence agency is like. We can take your life, bury your body in a mountain and then report our superiors that you have killed yourself. That's it." Then they harshly tortured him, pressing him to tell where he had drawn political funds from and what was the purport of his statement at the "National Assembly" session.

This is the very plight of the democrats and politicians in south Korea under the one-man dictatorship of Pak Jung Hi. From such rights and democracy for intellectuals and politicians one can imagine pretty well how miserable the plight of the ordinary masses would be.

The urban dwellers of south Korea have had their legs bound by the night curfew for 32 years ever since 1945. They are not allowed to travel freely even in the daytime.

Even a passer-by who gives a cough in front of a police station is subject to detention on the charge of causing disturbance.

All these are part of the instances showing the violation of freedom and democracy in south Korea.

Infringement upon human rights in south Korea finds its concentric expression in torture atrocities.

The torture atrocities of the Pak "regime" are the acme of the violation of human rights and the typical witness to its bestial nature as a man-killer.

The Pak "regime" puts patriots and democrats to ruthless torture, inventing and employing the most atrocious methods, equipment and technique, which baffles human imagination and can be conducted only by human ogres.

Really ruthless are the tortures used in south Korea. Once thrown into a torture chamber, anyone is handled roughly like a beast of burden, regardless of his position, age and sex. Many people are mentally deranged or give up their breath in the course of torture.

Bestial executioners feel pleasure in torturing and glee in man-killing. They are toying with the lives and chastity of young ladies and women and employing such methods of torture by which the victim perishes of himself suffering the greatest mental agony and the longest physical pain.

When a person is tortured to death, those rascals say he has committed suicide or dispose of him without leaving any traces.

As is the case with Song Sang Jin and others involved in the "case of the People's Revolutionary Party" and with Prof. Choe Jong Gil, they do not hand over even dead bodies but cremate them to obliterate the vestige of torture.

Today the patriotic people who have striven with might and main for social democratization and national reunification keep groaning in the sanguinary police stations, prisons and instruction centres which are found everywhere in south Korea. The mountains and rivers of south Korea are dyed with their fresh blood of patriotism.

How many patriots and innocent people have been deprived of their precious youth and lives by the Pak Jung Hi ogres simply because they loved the country and nation!

At this very moment, frantic efforts to liquidate the witnesses to atrocious tortures should be made in the secret underground chamber of the "KCIA" in Namsan of Seoul, and special cars bearing false numbers should be speeding down the street to carry dead bodies outside the city in confidence.

All the present terrible misfortunes and sufferings of our people and all the never-to-be-pardoned crimes of the fascist hangmen are the very outcome of Pak Jung Hi's "Yusin" dictatorship.

Therefore, the existence and rights of the south Korean people are unthinkable and the freedom and democracy of south Korea are infeasible without dethroning Pak Jung Hi and doing away with his "Yusin" dictatorship.

To overthrow Pak Jung Hi's dictatorial "regime" is the most urgent requisite to removing the misfortunes and sufferings of the south Korean people and to achieving peace and peaceful reunification on the Korean peninsula.

I appeal to the progressive lawyers and person-

ages of the world who love democracy and peace to further extend their movement for repudiating and condemning Pak's dictatorial "reigme," place Pak Jung Hi in the dock of the world public and pass a stern judgment on him in the name of history.

The ruling circles of the United States and Japan are to blame for the presence of Pak Jung Hi's fascist dictatorship in south Korea.

The Pak dictatorship is backed up by the US Administration which is the de facto ruler of south Korea and continues to give military "aid" and other assistance to the Pak "regime," and by the Japanese government which has taken it as its policy towards south Korea to reinvade it in all domains.

I wish the noted lawyers and journalists of the world present here and the honest-minded people of all countries will keep up the vigorous international movement for completely evacuating the US troops stationed in south Korea, stopping the US "aid" to the Pak "regime" and smashing the renewed aggression of Japan on south Korea.

In conclusion, I express my firm conviction that you and the personages of broad strata of different countries in the world will more powerfully support and encourage the anti-fascist, democratic movement of our south Korean people and democrats and their movement for peaceful reunification.

“ALLOUT STRUGGLE OF ENTIRE POPULAR MASSES AGAINST DICTATORSHIP WILL BE ONLY ROAD OPEN TO US”

—To Replace the Dictatorship—

Yun Bo Son

Ex-President of South Korea

The December 1977 issue of the Japanese politico-theoretical magazine Sekai carried an article written by ex-President of south Korea Yun Bo Son. According to this magazine, he was involved in the “March 1 Declaration for Democracy and National Salvation” case in 1976, which incurred a decision of 8-year prison term (not restrained for his advanced age) and forfeiture of civil rights on the charge of violation of the “presidential emergency measures.” His article is introduced below.

Mr. Managing Editor,

I pay my deep respect, above all, to your magazine for its profound concern shown for me and the democratization movement in south Korea. As to the questions raised by your magazine, I shall divide my answer under six heads.

In view of the contents of your questions I thought it would be more proper for you to have put them rather to those who will lead this country in

the future according to their democratic faith than to me. They would give you more distinct, confident and responsible answers. For Mr. Kim Dae Jung, poet Kim Ji Ha and many other intellectuals and religionists now in jail will have a remarkable programme each. They may still now have dreams and plans for the future of our fatherland and think of the way to realize them. I am praying for their early release in good health. I think there are much to be desired in my answers. I am now over 80 and can hardly think and write as I wish. However, I will answer the questions in all sincerity in thanks for the deep concern shown for south Korea by your magazine....

SOUTH KOREA-JAPAN RELATIONS, SINISTER AIM OF DARK FUSION, AND NATIONAL PRINCIPLE

When the south Korea-Japan talks started in the 1960's, I opposed them. However, I was and am not opposed to the talks themselves. I have been consistently opposed to them because the postures of the Japanese government and the Pak regime are problematical.

During the 36 years of Japanese rule, our nation had to bear all sorts of disgrace. Today when it is liberated, the side that imposed the disgrace, I think, should assume a posture of repentance in the first

place. The Pak regime was not interested in the national cause but tried to use the south Korea-Japan talks as a means of maintaining its power. Wasn't this self-inflicted obedience and humiliation? It is not desirable that the conclusion of south Korea-Japan talks causes damage on the south Korean side while benefiting the Japanese side. And, by a glance from the standpoint of commercial profit, it may seem to be beneficial. But even in such case, it will more often than not prove to be harmful if viewed from a standpoint that this country dissipates its past errors committed against its neighbouring country and that the two countries reestablish the relations of mutual cooperation on the basis of friendship. The ruling forces of the two countries should realize how terrible the stern judgement of their peoples, especially their young generations, will be.

If the south Korea-Japan talks are not designed mainly for coexistence and mutual prosperity based on friendship and good neighbourhood, the parties concerned can hardly convince their peoples of the consequence thereof. Both the peoples of south Korea and Japan wished for genuine freedom and peace and for a life worth leading as human beings, rejecting all kinds of oppression. They earnestly hoped for solidarity with each other and the establishment of relations of friendship and cooperation. Moreover, in our age this desire, I think, has spread widely among the peoples of the two countries to become the spirit of the age.

Recently I sent an open letter to Prime Minister of Japan Fukuda. This letter, too, is nothing more

than the expression of my opinion on such just morality. I have hoped that a reconsideration will be given to some consequences brought by some corrupt forces within the Liberal Democratic Party of Japan in their attempt to take a road which essentially runs counter to the desire of the two peoples. It may be not for nothing that we think again over the problems arising from the betrayal by the ruling forces of the two countries of the desire of their honest-minded people through their dark fusion. The Japanese government openly professed itself to be a defender of democracy and world peace. But the Liberal Democratic Party government of Japan has all along offered no criticism against the dictatorial rule and suppression of human rights committed in south Korea in recent years under the name of revitalization and maintained the basic stance of unconditionally supporting Pak's dictatorial rule. I cannot but be surprised at this. I think this attitude comes from the relations of organizational collusion formed between the Pak regime and the corrupt forces within the Liberal Democratic Party of Japan with the 1965 south Korea-Japan treaty as the basis. These relations of organizational collusion served as the basis that brought such a consequence to south Korea as to promote the development of the Japanese economy even by making the working people the victim of a low-wage policy. The south Korean national economy has been reduced to one of the subcontractors of Japanese capitalism, and south Korea driven into Japan's sphere of political and economic influence. And, in order to carry out their sinister design of

fusion, the corrupt forces of Japan seem to have come to consider the Pak regime that harshly suppresses the critical people's free expression to be a *sine qua non*.

Besides, it may be indirectly advantageous to some forces in the Liberal Democratic Party of Japan that the Pak regime seeks to perpetuate the division of the Korean peninsula and maintain the state of hostility by means of north-south confrontation in order to keep on its dictatorial rule. This, however, is a serious act of wiping out the desire of the two peoples for peace and the building of an economy for democratic welfare; it cannot be considered to be beneficial to the majority of the Japanese people. Even if Japan is benefited from it, it will lead, above all, to eradicating the two peoples' valuable feelings of friendship in the future. This we should know. It must be stressed again that if Japan, in pursuance of immediate gain and commercial profit, conspires with the Pak regime in secret and stands in the way of the south Korean people in spite of the fact that this regime actually brings misfortunes and humiliation upon the people, I cannot tell what the future of south Korea-Japan relations will be. The relations of dark fusion between the dictatorial force of south Korea and some corrupt forces of Japan may become deeper if the US policy of troop pullout from south Korea is made an established fact and the US troops in south Korea are completely withdrawn in a few years. The sober-minded peoples of the two countries, I think, must focus their attention and interest on this and guard themselves

against it.

Next, mention must be made of the Kim Dae Jung kidnap case, which is still a focus of world attention and remains unsettled as the biggest case of violation of human rights. According to Kim Hyong Uk's testimony at the US congressional hearings, the Japanese government knew the abduction plan beforehand. We cannot but feel fear and surprise afresh. Even if the plan is not detected beforehand but is known after the event, as insisted by the Liberal Democratic Party government of Japan, if the abduction of Mr. Kim Dae Jung in Japan is considered to be illegal, it is obvious that the case should not be settled in such a way that it impairs its own prestige as a sovereign state. I was shocked by the reports of Japanese papers that a huge amount of money, which is, so to speak, an example of dark fusion between the Pak Jung Hi's revitalized dictatorial forces and the corrupt forces within the LDP government of Japan, was rendered up in the course of dealing with the Kim Dae Jung kidnap case between the two countries. It is deeply to be regretted that there was such a scandal. The freedom-loving people of the world are still expecting the Japanese authorities to clear up the problem with sincere attitude, I believe.

I do not want to speak about Japanese Prime Minister Fukuda's unpleasant remarks on my open letter, because it is related to the level of his education. Thinking that there will be a catastrophe in the relation between the two countries unless a small gain is sacrificed for the main issue of things, I will send on the first opportunity another open letter to him

in spite of such response of his to my first letter.

PRÉSENT SITUATION OF PAK REGIME AND JUSTNESS OF STRUGGLE FOR DEMOC- RACY, PEOPLE'S LIVING AND NATION

The Pak regime makes a practice of flouting and deceiving the people by giving a distorted picture of reality at all times and has worked to perpetuate its misrule. Giving such a distorted picture and forcing people to unconditionally believe it is the whole process of its dictatorship. This is the logic of Pak regime's dictatorial rule.

First, it is that while helping the privileged circles increase their wealth through its economic policy of depending on the outside forces and benefiting the corrupt privileged, it defines this accumulation of wealth as the industrialization and modernization of the national economy. And it asks the people to approve of it, mesmerized by the demonstration of other things and its self-laudation. However, the whole course of industrialization advocated by the Pak regime enlarged and deepened social disproportion between regions and also between incomes, with the result that today it affects the people's living greatly. In my opinion, at present the deepening of the phenomenon that "the rich are getting richer and the poor poorer" has surpassed the point of explosion

by far in view of social structure. The overwhelming majority of the labouring people has been made slaves to the wealth of the privileged classes. The office employees, intellectuals, servicemen, junior officials and other salarymen who can be said to be the middle class of the society, harbour resentment against the privileged classes and their degeneration and arrogance, and this resentment is growing unconcealed. The Pak regime is turning the urban paupers out from the slums on the pretext that they mar the effect of show and get in the way of its propaganda policy. Plunder is becoming intenser and the existence of medium and petty traders and common people are threatened. What do the statistical figures that 90 per cent of the nation's total wealth is in the hands of 6 per cent of the entire population tell?

Secondly, the Pak regime adopted and has intensified the dictatorship by force and intelligence policy to maintain the phenomenon ridden with many socio-economic contradictions. This can be said to be a bogus structure under the name of the so-called security. They say that none of people is allowed to accuse or criticize them, on the allegation that any manifestation of social unrest can be exploited by the communist regime in the north. They force people not to give even a facial expression of uneasiness and discontent. For this reason, the freedom of religion, speech, the press, association and assembly is suppressed and the judicial power has been reduced to a servant of power. The effectuation of this result was attended first with the mobilization of various

means such as appeasement, bribery and intimidation and, in the end, with the total obliteration of the bud of the democratic system by force. Thus, it is already long since the permanent one-man dictatorial system was consolidated. The Pak regime defined such anti-democratic method as the way to promote national harmony. In order to seal up any objection to this definition, the Anti-Communist Law is applied indiscriminately and a state of emergency, emergency decrees and many other extraordinary orders were frequently proclaimed. The frequent issue of emergency decrees shows the limit of the Pak regime which cannot exist without them.

Thirdly, this regime tries to justify its abnormal existence and rule, giving a deceptive definition of the possibility of war and inciting crisis complex among the people. Thus came finally a cry for nuclear development. This is nothing but a ruse to overpower at one coup the socio-economic unrest and the hardships the people feel and their hatred for the dictatorial system. This is an incantation and something like a self-sufficient prediction of dictatorial power. I cannot but fear that this prediction will develop as far as to the preparation of weapons, armed force, war supplies and then nuclear weapons and, in the end, bring about the worst national misfortune in which a presage of war will lead to its actual outbreak. History shows that all the typical dictators followed such road. We must check with our lives such national tragedy which any one-man dictatorship on the Korean peninsula will cause at will.

The dictatorial system of the Pak regime opposed to democracy, the people and their living gave birth to a system built on all sorts of mistakes, as can be seen. But, externally the Pak Dong Son case and the south Korea-Japan fusion have begun to be brought to light and internally the testimony of truth and justice against deception has come to brave the suppressive force. Thus the misrule will be given challenge internally and externally and the curtain of falsehood removed, I think. To cope with this, the Pak regime tries to save itself from isolation within and without by giving another deceptive definition, "independence." Its talk about independence is nothing but a futile self-deception. How dares it speak about independence when it begs for Japan's military domination in addition to its political and economic domination? It is another falsehood and another deception practised on the people.

MAINTENANCE OF PAK REGIME AND STRUCTURE OF INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

The Pak regime could come into being and build up its system because of the continued existence till recent years of the international political system built on the world's cold-war structure and of the quantitative and qualitative support it received from it. When viewed from the constitutional structure of

international politics formed between south Korea, the United States and Japan, following the south Korea-Japan agreement, Japanese capital and goods first flowed into south Korea to come into collusion with south Korean capital and business and there started a new political tie-up between the forces of the Liberal Democratic Party of Japan and the Pak regime. And this regime got US assurance in return for dispatch of its troops to Vietnam. Taking advantage of such structure of international relations, the Pak regime strengthened its prolonged domination and dictatorship. However, we came to expect a certain change due to the cessation of the Vietnamese war and the adoption of moral diplomacy by the Carter Administration. It seems that reflecting on its support to dictatorship in the past, the United States was obliged to radically change its constitutional structure of the past in order to seek peace and order in the Korean peninsula and East Asia.

As mentioned above, in the process of such change in the constitutional structure Japan's attitude was rather vague than the US', I should say. Although a new value of mankind called anti-dictatorship and peace pursuit has come to the fore, the Japanese government does not want to change its stand, disregarding the people's sentiments. Thus it is exciting the deep-seated national sentiments of the south Korean people. To speak formally about Japanese Prime Minister Fukuda's attitude towards my open letter, it can be said that it is the manifestation of his stand in regard to the relation of south Korea-Japan fusion which is now causing public discussion.

The result, I think, was that we could see beforehand how fictitious the Fukuda doctrine which aroused considerable public opinion was. When a country practises dictatorship, another country helps it; continues to practise it and supports it. This act committed by the latter, even if it is partial, is bound to become an object of criticism of highly intelligent people and impair the dignity of that country in the present international political situation. In my opinion, promotion of peace must be decided by the value of anti-dictatorship. As historical experience shows, dictatorship is the enemy of peace. Peace and security in the Korean peninsula presupposes the security and peace of each of its residents, and these must be the basic objective. Internationally, today, non-governmental organizations and even individuals are turning about for peace and against dictatorship with a force unprecedented in history. And the surface of the globe will be overcrowded with powerful ranks of mankind. I am convinced that the dictatorship will certainly fall in the end. I do not in the least hope that the Japanese government will be excluded from these ranks.

I maintained before that the dictatorship should be overthrown first to be followed by the US troops' withdrawal. In view of the nature of the Park regime which uses every phenomenon for the dictatorship and permanent power, it is plain as a pikestaff that it is inciting the consciousness of the danger of war on the pretext of the US troops' pullout and thereby following the road of strengthening the dictatorship. Now its symptom is already manifest. This further

deepens the Pak regime's hostility against the north and stimulates it to go farther along the road of permanent division. In view of this, the impact to be brought about by the withdrawal of the US ground force runs counter to the spirit of President Carter's moral diplomacy and will result in betraying the south Korean people's desire for unification, I think. The first and foremost task in the solution of the question of Korea's unification, I think, is to smash the dictatorship. For, in my opinion, the masses of the people should become master in the efforts towards unification and, for this, it is absolutely necessary to establish democracy guaranteeing their participation and initiative.

We can know it easily through a very recent historical fact. Even before the ink on the July 4 Joint Statement dried up the Pak regime proclaimed the so-called revitalized system under the pretext of seeking peaceful unification. The dictatorial power plays with and trample underfoot the desire of the people for the interests of its power. Now it claims that the revitalized system is necessary for the confrontation with the north. In a word, the Pak regime is neither able nor entitled to discuss the unification question. The masses of the people desire unification but the dictatorial power persistently seeks the division, using and violating at will their aspiration in pursuance of its own interests. What they call the north-south dialogue is only for their own interests; it does not reflect the will and desire of the nation and the popular masses.

Therefore, the four big powers—the US, Japan,

China and the Soviet Union—which are accountable for, and interested in, the Korean issue should first of all strive for the preservation of peace on the Korean peninsula. In particular, the United States and Japan, I think, should work together in the direction that every south Korean is guaranteed human rights, and, further, that a democratic system is set up in which the people's voluntary participation in government is recognized after the destruction of the dictatorship. When the popular masses of this country become master of their own destiny, the question of unification aspired after by them will be discussed in an independent and autonomous way and efforts be made for its realization.

There should not be such a thing that foreign forces negatively affect the people's desire and efforts for unification in pursuance of their own interests.

I express deep concern over the fact that some forces within the present Liberal Democratic Party of Japan will help and make for the perpetuation of Korea's division in disregard of the will of the masses of the south Korean people.

COLLAPSE OF PAK REGIME AND PLAN FOR DEMOCRACY, PEOPLE'S LIVING AND NATIONAL UNIFICATION

There is a pessimistic view that if the Pak regime falls, south Korea will be thrown into confusion, the economy devastated and a military system reappear. I think this is a groundless rumour spread by the Pak regime or the forces, who, parasitic on it, are pursuing their interests. Such rumour cannot have any persuasive power in denying the justness of the assertion that the Pak regime must be overthrown. It also cannot shake our conviction that an end will be put to the life of the Pak regime by the struggle of our people. Such apprehension can hardly make our people indecisive in their desire and efforts for democracy.

The Pak regime has been kept intact from the masses of the people 'as a power whose existence itself cannot be acknowledged by the south Korean people. It is nothing but an anti-popular group of liars and terrorists who have deceived and oppressed the masses of the people. The ties and solidarity of the popular masses at home and abroad who are encircling the corrupt, privileged group of the Pak regime are gaining in scope and strength with each passing day. It is my firm belief that through their continued struggles the masses of the south Korean

people will come to have confidence that any of the people's and national hardships can be overcome by the strength of the popular masses. These days the Pak regime tightly shackles the people to the civilian defence corps, neighbourhood association and reserve forces on the pretext of danger of war. It makes all the people criminals, which alone is enough to show the anti-popular nature of the Pak regime. It takes all the people as the objects of plunder through the inhabitant tax and added value tax. In my view, the people's tax paying power has reached the limit and is on the point of explosion.

As an established politician who has failed to prevent the Pak regime from cutting a figure as it is today, I feel a heavy responsibility before history and the people. It is my wish to see the overthrow of the Pak regime before I die. But I think I'm nothing more than a person taking part in such struggle of the south Korean people and I am not in a position to put forward any concrete plan. Nevertheless, I think I can say that the collapse of the Pak regime precisely means the victory of the popular masses and the building of a society in which the people's participation in government and their initiative are guaranteed and, therefore, that the future plan will be decided by the people on their agreement from now. Such plan, I think, may be included completely in the democratic programme upheld by those people who are still in suffering but have played a leading role in the course of the struggle for democracy and national salvation up to this day. Therefore, through

the victory of the struggle we will resolve the immediate question of the people's living and the question of the restoration of the democratic system and order and vigorously advance along the road of unification on the principle of great national unity with the masses of the people as the main force. Judging from the present situation, it is hard to think of the Pak regime's voluntary resignation, expecting that it will reflect on and repent of its past deeds and rectify them. The all-out struggle of the entire people against the dictatorship will be the only road open to us. This road is not one we the people have chosen ourselves, but it is an unavoidable one provided to us on so many occasions. On our side there are fully prepared democratic forces. The footmarks of continued bloody struggle under the brutal Pak dictatorial regime—these represent precisely the genuine democratic forces we have accumulated. These forces will be mobilized in the rebuilding of our fatherland. Unnecessary anxiety for the forces which are to replace the Pak regime speaks for a way of thinking in favour of that regime. I think evil has a sufficient reason for its inevitable extinction as evil.

Seoul

September 22, 1977

“THIS IS HOW I ENTERED THE LABOUR MOVEMENT”

**—In Memory of Death of My Son
Chon Tae Il—**

Li So Son

The February 1978 issue of Sekai, a Japanese politico-theoretical magazine, carried Mrs. Li So Son's article entitled "This Is How I Entered the Labour Movement."

According to the magazine, on November 13, 1970, near the Pyonghwa Market in Seoul, a young man poured petrol upon himself and burned himself to death. He was Chon Tae Il, aged 22. Through his heroic death, he called for the unity of the workers for the improvement of the worse working conditions of those workers, especially the young female workers, who were employed in the Pyonghwa Market (a section where clothes manufacturing companies are massed).

Chon's death was the occasion for the south Korean society to show deep concern over the improvement of working conditions. And the government could not but take up the job on the eve of the presidential election in 1971, the following year. However, it is most noteworthy that it gave rise to cooperation between the workers and students and that Mother Li So Son (42 years old then), who in needy circumstances had only doled on her son prior to his death, came out as a leading figure in that labour movement. This movement sparked off at the Pyonghwa Market was fated to bear harsh suppression

by the government. Chang Gi Pyo, who is considered to be one of the students who had rushed to Chon Tae Il at the news of his death, was arrested in February 1977, and Mrs. Li So Son, too, was taken into custody on a charge of contempt of court at the time of Chang's trial. Both of them are now behind bars.

Mr. T.K., however, wrote, "Many workers are reading Mr Chon Tae Il's note these days." It may be said that solidarity is being strengthened among students, workers and Christians to intensify their struggle for democratization. The article introduced here is what Mrs. Li So Son, mother of Chon Tae Il, stated at a rally held in 1975 in memory of the fifth anniversary of the death of her son. It was preserved as an "underground document." It was made public after her arrest, and it is impossible to make known the circumstances which led to its publication. We should like to inform you only of the fact that the following words were added to this article sent from Seoul: "Like son, like mother. Mother has made excellent progress. The features of the mother remind us of the model of Korean motherhood which could be found in the anti-Japanese struggle for independence in the past."

WHY DID TAE IL DIE?

It is already five years since Tae Il set fire to himself for the restoration of the rights and interests of the working people and the improvement of their working conditions, shouting, "Don't make my death useless!"

But, thinking that he would not close his eyes even in his grave if he could see the present hard-

ship of the working people, I cannot confine myself to making a formal address or pour forth only my feelings of sorrow before you working people at this memorial service.

If I do so, it will give greater pain to Tae Il. So, I will avail myself of this opportunity to emphasize again that we should win our rights by ourselves. It is because this only will console the soul of Tae Il so that he may sleep peacefully.

At this memorial service we must understand what is meant by the death of Chon Tae Il and know what we should do for the restoration of the rights of us working people, and make this rally of today form a turning-point in translating that into concrete practice and action.

I am speaking of my own son, not others. So this pains me. It is a heart-rending thing and I wish I would never think of it again. It is really unpleasant to speak of him. But, sparing Tae Il's feelings and wishing for the removal of hellish sufferings you working people are undergoing, I would like to speak out my thought today.

Dear working people,

The sufferings you are now undergoing are, I believe, the sufferings Tae Il is going through still now. In his diary Tae Il identified himself with you, without separating himself from you. That is why I always bear in mind that I am mother of you as well as Tae Il. Please take me as such and listen to me attentively.

What did Tae Il do and why did he die? And what

does his death tell us? To get answers for these questions, I am going to make a brief account of what he did in this world.

THE LABOUR STANDARD LAW AND THE "FOOLS' SOCIETY"

I don't know whether it is his being of mean birth or it is his honesty that made him what he was in this society. Tae Il barely managed to finish a primary school and worked for living every day, polishing boots and hawking newspapers like an orphan. He got a job at last at the Pyonghwa Market.

It happened when he was 16 or 17 years old. In order to make a living, he worked hard and did his best to acquire technique.

But what offended his eyes, above all, was the fact that the young apprentices were suffering hardships more unbearable than death. He thought at first that it was due to the cutters that the apprentices had to work hard and were scolded all day long or, at times, forced to remain in a cloud of dust till late at night without anything to do. He considered it most diabolical to keep them till late at night. And he made up his mind to become a cutter to relieve them of their hardships. Thus he relinquished his position as a sewer and became an assistant of a tailor, though it meant lower wages. Soon he be-

came a tailor, but the problem was not so simple as he thought to be.

As you know well, it was nothing more than a daydream for a single cutter in the Pyonghwa Market to solve such a problem. At a glance, the destinies of apprentices and sewers seemed to depend on the cutters, but the problem was beyond the power of the cutters. And Tae Il came to realize this.

For some time he would help the apprentices in their work, refrained from scolding them, let them go home early, helped them out with bus fare or got them cheap bread. This, however, was not the way of solution.

As a cutter he earned much more than he had earned as a sewer. But he brought home as much pay as before. He might have felt sorry for this, and one night, after getting into bed, he said to me: "Today an apprentice did not bring his lunch, so I bought bread for him." At this, I could say nothing. Our family, too, was barely keeping the pot boiling, but I could understand Tae Il's feelings and was keenly aware of the hardships of living suffered by the people of the lower classes like us. I could hardly tell him definitely, "Do buy food for those hungry ones with your pay." Yet I did not want to break him off what he was doing. So I muttered, "Well done, son!" Tae Il always said to himself, "The saddest thing in this world is going hungry."

Do you think there is any master in the world who is pleased with such a practice as to feel sorry for the young apprentices and send them back early? Tae Il was sacked. And finally he found it difficult

even to get a job in the Pyonghwa Market. He ate his heart out, yet at home he pretended that he was attending his duties as ever.

Thus the dream of Tae Il to protect the apprentices in his individual capacity as a cutter vanished like a bubble.

This occasioned him to ponder over the ways for the radical solution of the problem. He had realized that the charity bestowed on any unhappy individual persons by any individual in good faith alone did not solve the problem.

So, he began to study the "Labour Standard Law." He burned the midnight oil. When he came across any gladsome passage he shouted at this ignorant mother in a hopeful, trembling voice: "Mother, look at this. The rights of the working people are provided in the law. But we are worked hard without knowing it." At times, however, he said to me, "This law is useless to the toiling people," and, adding that the laws were made merely for form's sake, showed his displeasure with the statesmen who did not intend to execute any of them.

Through his study of the "Labour Standard Law" he came to realize that the rights of the labouring people should be guaranteed by their own united action. This meant that they should form a labour union and verify their claims collectively through it. This brought new hope to him. He now made a point of meeting his friends every day. Sometimes he brought them to home. When he met them outside, he would come back in the midnight. It was in this process that the "Fools' Society" came into being.

It was in 1968 when he was 20 years old, I remember. By fools they meant scum-like persons, that is, the people who could not utter a complaint properly although they were forced to hold their noses to the grindstone in the dark back alley. However, the very name of the "Fools' Society," in spite of their being fools, suggests that they refused to live as fools and declared themselves to be human beings like other people. "We were not born fools and cannot remain fools all our life. We are fools at present, but if these fools are united it will give us strength, and if we regain our usurped rights with that strength we will get rid of the life of fools"—this is probably the reason why they named their organization "Fools' Society."

But there was the most immediate cause of that naming. When he worked in the Pyonghwa Market, he thought that in order to overcome hardships "We cutters must unite ourselves" and expressed his view once to the senior cutters.

Their answer was: "Don't talk nonsense, you fool. We have no power to do anything, have we?" For all that, Tae Il and a few of his friends called on senior cutters, who always answered, "Quit your foolish notion and do your duty well." He was insulted sometimes, but never daunted. He felt repulsion towards his being called a fool. It can be said, therefore, that the "Fools' Society" was organized as an expression of the wrath and resistance to the coolness of society, persecution, and the growing ignorance and self-torment inside it, to rise above all these.

Dear working people, I have dwelt at length on

the "Fools' Society" because I think we still remain in the same conditions as at that time and should still have the determination to reject such persecution and self-torment. We suffer subhuman treatment as ever. Nevertheless, we cannot claim our legitimate rights but are treated like fools. We must no longer be fools. Our masters may want us to meekly obey their orders, but it is high time for us to follow our own road.

This notwithstanding, among us there may be real fools who misunderstand that their fixed wages are the proof of full exercise of their rights. There may be a greater number of people who do not understand how much we are squeezed and ground. This is the question. Admitting that we have so far remained fools, we should make our minds that we should be no more fools in the future. And in order not to be treated as fools, we the workers should fight in unity. Bearing this in mind, we should have interests in the labour movement and take an active part in it.

The members of this "Fools' Society" were mainly cutters and their assistants of about the same age with Tae Il. Like brothers they lived together, sharing with each other everything they had. To begin with, they planned to inform the outside world in detail of the miserable plight of the working people in the Pyonghwa Market after investigating it and, on that basis, to extend their labour movement. Thus they worked out the written investigation. Around that time, I remember, Tae Il was studying harder the Labour Standard Law. Evidently he seemed to

have something he could not make out the meaning of. He was much sorry for having no student at his side. He muttered to himself: "Isn't there a student who is kind enough to help me?" In spite of all hardships, especially of financial difficulties, the "Fools' Society" members went out for investigation almost every day, carrying many sheets of printed forms. But the result of their work didn't come so soon. To add to their difficulties, some comrades were called up for military service one after another. And some others got the air on account of the investigation work. Thus the plan of the "Fools' Society" burst like soap bubbles.

Afterwards, Tae Il laboured together with his grandfather at a construction site. As his mother I felt sorry for him who, now unable to continue his labour movement, ought to carry heavy loads on his back up to the second and third floors of a building all day long, for all his infirm health. At that time, he witnessed the people who, driven to the last ditch, were sweating hard to eke out a living. He felt their agony as his own, and a strong affection for them surged up within him. He wrote down all this in his diary. We often say we don't live to eat but eat to live. But our life in which we are concerned with our day-to-day survival under the constant threat of death from hunger is as good as to live to eat. Food is so absolutely necessary. To find pleasure in labour is a mere dream for us. We have to toil simply to get food.

“AN ARTICLE ON THE PYONGHWA MARKET APPEARS IN NEWSPAPER”

Even while working on the construction site, Tae Il kept thinking in his mind how to save the young people of the Pyonghwa Market from the welter of hard toil. He mulled many things over in his mind. For instance, he dreamt to establish a fund of 30 million *won* for an ideal factory which would not drive its workers hard. To this end, he intended to sell his eyeball and wrote a letter to a sightless person introduced in the daily *Chungang Ilbo*.

Finally he abandoned this idle dream, and towards March 1970 he left home, saying that he would enter the Immanuel Oratory in Mt. Samgak to study for a few months. There he must have thought of how to put in force the Labour Standard Law to relieve the workers. At the end of his thoughts, I believe, he must have determined to solve this problem by his death.

Overwhelmed by this determination, he thought he should not leave the Pyonghwa Market any more. He tortured himself, unable to dismiss from his mind the sufferings of those young apprentices in the Pyonghwa Market. At that time he wrote to the workers of the Pyonghwa Market in his diary: “Wait a bit longer. I will be back to you soon.” “It was his urgent wish. Right after August 15, 1970 of the lunar

calendar he returned to his dear place the Pyonghwa Market where his young mates were awaiting him. At that time he was determined to devote his all to the workers labouring there. Before coming from Mt. Samgak he had his hair cropped like a monk. It must have been an expression of his grim determination.

Wearing a cap to cover up his short hair, he worked and formed what was called the "Samdong Friendship Association" and launched a full-scale labour movement among the cutters. Their meetings discussed above all the labour problem in the Pyonghwa Market and the problem of ensuring the rights and interests of the workers. To begin with, they set out to investigate the actual conditions of the workers with forms that had been used at the time of the "Fools' Society." In early October they rounded up the results of the investigation and submitted a written petition to the Labour Office.

The labour inspector of the Labour Office gave them a promise to examine the affair and properly deal with it. However, when the National Assembly wound up the verification of the national administration, he remained quite indifferent to the affair in question. Asked about how he had disposed of it, he replied bluntly: "The verification of the national administration is over. Now have your own way." This set up their bristles. Tae Il went to the labour section of the Seoul Municipal Office, pleaded the wretched plight of the workers in the Pyonghwa Market and asked it to take some measures for their sake. He also called at a broadcasting station in hope of finding a way out by letting it be known to many

people.

In the meantime, a written petition sent to the journalists of the Labour Office proved fruitful. On October 7, 1970 a rather detailed content of the written petition was carried in all dailies under the title, "Thirteen-hour Toil in Dust." In this way the misery of the Pyonghwa Market workers who were bled white in the nice-looking building in the heart of Seoul, barely came to the knowledge of people through the press. It was a report about the young workers who were drudging 13-15 hours a day in the dusty, dimly-lit place where even the existence of the Labour Standard Law was kept dark, suffering from various diseases such as tuberculosis, bronchitis, chronic indigestion and gastroenteric trouble, and injuring even their eyesights. It was really a great event that disclosed the fictitious nature of the noisy propaganda of the government about the economic development, the establishment of an exporting state and the better living conditions in the 70's. It might have had in mind a few plutocrats and men of power when it propagated about the improvement of life in the 70's. But it became obvious that the workers would find themselves in a deeper distress from day to day.

Tae Il and his friends were boundlessly happy at that time because the misery of the workers was made public through their efforts even if they couldn't have solved the whole problem and because they believed they would solve it some day. They were simply bursting to show that newspaper article quickly to the workers of the Pyonghwa Market. As they had no

money on hand they pawned the watch of a friend, bought 200 copies, and then wearing arm bands bearing the words "special news of the Pyonghwa Market," sold or distributed them free, shouting, "An article about the Pyonghwa Market is carried in this paper." At that time, I hear, some well-intentioned workers paid 100 or 200 *won* for each copy more than its price and acknowledged their service saying, "Thank you for your trouble." They felt like weeping, hugging each other. They felt a joy over the fruit of their efforts and, at the same time, they thought of a lot of unfinished work ahead.

Many young lives were suffering there as if symbolizing this society. But no one paid attention to them. The workers themselves thought they were fated for trouble and misfortune. So they made no word of complaint and even felt afraid to breathe deeply.

When some of this tragic plight was revealed in this society those workers felt both sorrow and wrath welling up within them. It also awakened them to a new consciousness as human beings. By that time they had been no more than parts of clothes-making machines which would be discarded when they were worn out or broken down. The import of machines would cost much while there was an abundance of workers, their spare parts. They were most trifling home-made goods that were cheap and available at any time.

That day, however, I dare say, they were awakened even in a smallest measure to their rights as human beings who were able to plead their sorry plight. I

couldn't sense all of the pent-up wrath and sorrow of the Pyonghwa Market workers and the hope and joy of Tae Il and his friends. But I could appreciate some of the feelings they had that day.

A man does not shed tears while he is suffering pain no matter how severe it may be. But he gives vent to his sorrow and anger when his stored-up suffering is known to people or gain their sympathy. This is true.

THE EVE

But you workers, what change has been made in our plight since then? This is a question and herein lies our agony and sorrow. In the wake of that article there came a newspaper report that the Labour Office gave instructions as to improving the labour conditions, that is, to shortening the working hours, giving an off-day each week, raising the wages, and bettering the working environment, and that the factory owners promised to follow the instructions. But reverse was the reality. Their plight became worse. Tae Il and his friends were sacked again to find themselves in a state of jobless wanderers.

But they didn't give in. Now losing their job, they could spend more hours in their efforts for the labour movement. They became more active and intended to make ready for their next action. Now the factory owners seemed to have thought it better to

keep them in their factory since it would give them no time for the labour movement.

One day the Chief of the Labour Office came to the control office of the Pyonghwa Market and said that he would meet the demands of the workers if Tae Il and all other members of the "Samdong Friendship Association" returned to the factory within a week. Fooled by this sugar-coated word, all decided to work again. But it was not easy for Tae Il to get a job since his name was carried in newspapers. He managed to serve as an assistant cutter. But the promise to improve the working conditions was not honoured. Instead, police-detectives frequented the Pyonghwa Market and threatened the members of the "Samdong Friendship Association" with the words, "Don't raise a social disturbance again." The weak are always subject to persecution.

Being powerless, Tae Il felt all his just work had gone for naught. So he planned to launch a demonstration.

He had aspired to be now a tailor's cutter, now a kind-hearted factory owner.... He sent an open letter to factory owners and a written petition to Pak Jung Hi, pleading the distress of the young workers who were consuming away instead of blooming. But all that effort got him nowhere. A written petition sent to the Seoul Municipal Office or other government organs concerned only incurred harsher suppression by the government. Lawbreakers were the factory owners themselves, but the government only cracked down on the guiltless workers. It was clear for whom the law existed in this country. Even though

articles appeared in the press informing the public of real situations, they only had a temporary effect and soon faded out of their memory, and no one was willing to render active help to the working people, regarding their sufferings as his own. The articles might be read by all the learned people, all those who claimed to help the weak and all the champions of labour movement, but none of them raised issue in regard to the hardships of the labouring people. This after all brought them a keener realization of the fact that only when they were united and put up a struggle could they win subsistence.

Thereupon, a plan was drawn up to stage a demonstration of working people on October 24 under the auspices of "Samdong Friendship Association." But, that day the police-detectives stormed them, took placards away from them and walked off one leader after another. And the planned demonstration broke through.

After the just struggle of the labouring people was thus frustrated by the ruthless obstruction by the police, Tae Il firmed his heroic resolution. Convinced that no great cause could be realized without sacrifice, in those days he often told his friends that a few persons need to die for the improvement of the working conditions in the Pyonghwa Market. His friends took this for a vent of his feelings against the unendurable hardships at that time. Later, picturing what serious looks he had put on when he had told that, they expressed their sorrow for having failed to stop him from committing suicide. And some of them, feeling somewhat sorry to meet me, are still

keeping out of my way. Thus, maintaining his belief that death would bring a solution to the problem, Tae Il worked on a plan for the next demonstration.

He was preparing a plan for holding a demonstration in front of the former building of the National Bank on November 13. At that time, Tae Il talked little at home, turning the leaves of the Labour Standard Law or pondering on something. He was then without a fixed occupation, but he didn't speak a single word about that. He left home every day as usual as if to go to work. He went out early in the morning and came back late at night. Fearing that the labour problem caused excess mental anguish to him to injure his health, I even hated to see him carrying the Labour Standard Law with him.

It happened on November 12 when Tae Il left home for good. That morning, apprehending that the Labour Standard Law would arouse a big trouble, I hid that book. He asked me to find it out. As I felt some ominous presentiment, I decided not to hand it to him. But he searched for it so thoroughly that I was obliged to take it out from the empty pot where I had hidden it and gave it to him. No one imagined that that book would cause a disaster at length.

At the breakfast table that day his younger sister Sun Ok asked, "Brother, will you give me some money?" He answered, "Sorry, Sun Ok. I'll try. and manage it tomorrow." His voice, I remember, was so low at that time. I guess from this that something was weighing heavily on his mind. I now fully realize what sorrow he had when he spent most of his earnings for his activity and took home a small part

of them, and what pains he felt when he thought he could not keep his promise of "tomorrow" as he was prepared for death. This touches me to the core. "Dear Sun Ok, I have not done my whole duty as brother," he said, "you must attend upon mother well." I thought then that he was talking that way because he felt sorry for his failure in taking home wages. But it was not until the occurrence of that incident that I realized it had been his last talk with the family. I could not see at all why he earnestly asked Sun Ok to take care of this mother.

That morning Tae Il went out, taking a hasty breakfast. He did not return that night. He stayed out at his friend's house preparing placards for the demonstration on the 13th.

THAT DAY

The demonstration was to take place in front of the former building of the National Bank at 1 p.m. on the 13th, the hour when the greatest number of working people came swarming about for lunch.

I believe you know well about the event of that day and the demands put forward. However, by confirming them here once again, I would like to reflect on what we should do today.

The demonstration of that day was more than a demonstration for the improvement of working conditions; it rather was a declaration of human rights

of the working people in the Pyonghwa Market, a declaration of struggle to the effect that the rights of the working people can be won only by their own struggle. So, carrying the placard reading "We are not machines!" which meant they were human beings, they put into action their resolve to turn out in the street and fight for the improvement of their working conditions. At last Tae Il set fire to himself, shouting, "Don't make my death useless," to rouse us working people to a continuous struggle.

That day, no sooner had the demonstration started than scores of police-detectives rushed to the scene and hauled off its leaders in all directions. They made a desperate effort to take the placard away. The demands of the working people, according to the Labour Standard Law instituted by the government, were trampled down like that by the very government authorities. But at this breath-taking grave moment they could not hold up their plan for the anticipated police interference. Though a number of people were already dragged off, the remaining ones took out placards which they had hidden in their bosoms and, holding them high, went into demonstration. Written in the placards were: "We are not machines!" "Reduce working hours!" "No work on Sunday!" "Raise the wages!" "Better working conditions!" "Observe Labour Standard Law!" The police took off one demonstrator after another by violence and dispersed the crowd.

It was just at that moment. Tae Il thought that now was the time for him to resist, struggle and cry out at the risk of his life. Taking the book on the

Labour Standard Law in his arm, he poured gasoline over his body and set fire to it. In this way he burned the unenforced Labour Standard Law at the stake.

When Tae Il knew for the first time that there was the Labour Standard Law, he was overjoyed as if he had met the Saviour. He pored over it more than once. But what was all that? That law deprived him of his life.

It is due to the presence of the Labour Standard Law that the legitimate rights of the working people are not guaranteed. It is on account of that law that they are ground down. Had not there been such a showy law, there might have been a public interest in the actual conditions of the working people. The law itself was covering all the facts and furthering the plunder and maltreatment of them by the wicked owners of enterprises. This being the case, Tae Il thought that such a law should be burned and that only by committing such a formal law to the flames could the just struggle of the working people start.

The law can be worthwhile to observe only when it guarantees the rights of the people and is applied in such a way that it helps alleviate their hateful hardships. But when it is misused as the tool of the rulers for oppressing and squeezing us weak working people, that law need not be observed. If anyone thinks even such a law should be continuously upheld, he is the very person who helps our oppressors and exploiters. In particular, the laws enacted of late by the government are mostly the laws of such a sort. There is no need for us to abide by such evil laws aimed at intimidating us and binding our hands

and legs, nay, even our mouths and thoughts, so that we cannot move or speak. This was what Tae Il thought when he made up his mind to burn the Labour Standard Law.

The flames set to it engulfed his whole body in no time before anyone tried to put them out, I hear. In the midst of these flames he gave a shout, "Don't make my death useless!" He fell on the ground in a mass of flames, but rose up again. He shouted: "Observe the Labour Standard Law!" "Don't make my death useless!" In the meantime, someone covered him with a jumper and the like and barely extinguished the fire. But he suffered burns all over his body. His life was coming to an end, leaving the single cry: "Don't make my death useless!" How I dare even dream of Tae Il whose body was burned so severely that I could hardly recognize him!

As I mentioned before, this is not a place to talk about the death of Tae Il, nor is this a place to shed tears through grief at his death. There should not be any sorrow or despair before the death of Tae Il who committed himself to the fires at the young age of 22, shouting, "Don't make my death useless!" I reiterate that a genuine grief at his death and the real solace to his soul lie in understanding the real meaning of his death, thinking what he is demanding of us and translating it into practice and action. This is the only way to console his soul.

I say this definitely. He had no alternative but to die, and found a place of death, I think. Without his death it is impossible to expect a solution of this great problem. But, the point is how his cry, "Don't

make my death useless!", is understood and materialized by us today.

Tae Il wants all of you working people to wage a valiant struggle and fill this street of Chonggye-chon with a surging crowd of demonstrators made up of you. It is because this is the only way to improve the working conditions and ensure the rights of the working people.

Until his death, Tae Il experienced many vicissitudes and thought up numerous things. When he was still young, he tried hard to study like others while undergoing untold sufferings. There might be a time when he desired to lead a normal life like others by diligence and frugality. However, ever present in his mind was the grief of the sick and hunger-stricken people which he constantly came across in life.

Meanwhile, he got a place in the Pyonghwa Market, where he observed the cruel treatment of young workers. It was something he could hardly bear, and he was resolved to struggle to solve the problem. And he made every possible effort, but it only invited suppression by the owners of enterprises and the government authorities. Then he came to realize that it was quite impossible to solve the problem by means of individual good-will, petition, appeal and the like. From this he drew a conclusion that only by their own struggle could the working people be ensured their proper rights to a life worthy of a human being. It became his unshaken faith, which prompted him to try to call for the observation of the law through a demonstration by exercising the working people's

right to collective action ordained by law. But the working people were not awakened enough to accept it.

On the other hand, repression by the police was getting more and more pronounced. Hence his last resort was to sacrifice his life for the united struggle of the working people. At 1 p.m. on November 13, he put his resolution into action to call for the unity of us, the working people.

Dear working people, Tae Il did not die for nothing. At his last moment he shouted, "Don't make my death useless!" He probably killed himself to tell that single word to all of us. I think we should give a deep thought to the word, "Don't make my death useless!" For whom on earth did he lay down his life and toward whom did he utter a cry? Tae Il did not end his life to gain the favour of the government or the factory owners by appealing to them. Nor did he die because of his defeat and despair in face of the cruel oppression and exploitation of the government and the factory owners. His death was an appeal to and cry toward you workers. Tae Il set himself aflame to awaken and rouse you workers to a struggle. Indeed, he set fire to himself to see the flames of your struggle. And he hoped that the Pyonghwa Market, his spiritual birthplace, would be turned into a paradise of the workers.

He sacrificed his life to convince you workers of the truth that the workers can win their rights only when they fight in unity, although it is of course important to complain to this society of the inhuman exploitation and maltreatment imposed upon by the

owners of the Pyonghwa Market and to protest against the Labour Office and the government which are shielding and fostering them.

He did not kill himself. He did not want to die but had to die as there was no help. Who then did murder him? Broadly speaking, his murderer is the whole of this society including the government and the entrepreneurs. He was killed by the vile climate of this society where human beings are treated as machine parts. Do you workers then have nothing to do with his death? Can't it be said that you workers are at the bottom of Chon Tae Il's death? He died because you had been so callously indifferent over your own rights and had not actively responded to his call for fighting in unity. He set fire to himself and died in the hope that you would open your eyes and rise in struggle.

Workers, he wanted to say: "I appeal to you, setting fire to myself. So I really ask you to hear my words. Let's rise up and fight." To cry this very word he chose death. And he shouted, "Don't make my death useless!"

Who then should not make his death futile? It is you workers. His death will not be futile when you, enraged at the present exploitation and maltreatment, rise up and fight bravely. As the mother of Chon Tae Il I wish more than anybody else that his death will not be useless. Therefore, I want to call upon you to rise up and fight. And it is not only for the soul of Tae Il but in actuality for the sake of you workers and ourselves.

It is because unless we fight none of our demands will be met and we will remain slaves.

SON'S APPEAL, MOTHER'S DETERMINATION

Now I am going to relate what happened after Tae Il appealed to the workers to open their eyes and win back their rights and then set himself aflame.

Informed of the "accident" that befell him, I rushed to the "Medical Centre." But he was indistinguishably burnt at that time. I could recognize him as Tae Il only when he demanded a drink of water. His whole body was wrapped in a bandage. I stood spellbound. I felt as if the sky were falling. I didn't know what to do with myself. But, sensing my presence, he rather consoled this mother, saying:

"Mother, please pardon this undutiful son who has chosen death failing to give even a moment's peace to you who have suffered hardships all life. But I know you are the only person who can fully understand me. Don't grieve over my death. Tae Il proudly passes this world for the cause of justice. Now mother should take up the future work. Please relieve those suffering young workers so that my death should not be made futile."

Then he asked me, "Can you do it?" He asked this same question three times. I replied with a firm determination: "Yes, I can do it." Tae Il grasped my hand firmly when I was inwardly renewing my de-

termination after giving him my last promise. I mutely and repeatedly replied to him with my warm tears. He asked me to call his friends. In the presence of his friends he said as follows: "Our demand will be satisfied with my death. I beg you to fight on, without making my death futile." Then he demanded their affirmative answer.

Now Tae Il could speak no more. By that time for many hours he had been left lying in the first-aid treatment room with a bandage over his body, without getting a single shot which is helpful to the treatment of a serious burn. He demanded water, but I didn't give any drop of water to him who was on the point of death. Because I was told that if he drank water inflammation would spread over the whole interior of his body, and I still entertained a ray of hope for his survival. Now I feel cut to the quick with remorse and guilt. I feel choked whenever I think I should have let him take his fill of water at least since he was past a chance of recovery.

His belly was so drawn in that its skin seemed to be stuck to that of his back. He had had almost no meals for two days after a frugal breakfast on the previous morning. To my infinite regret, I had failed to feed him well. My heart bleeds to think that I made him go hungry even at the last moment of his death. These days whenever I get some subsidiary articles of diet my mind goes to him and I can hardly pass food down through my throat.

I had failed to serve square meals to him who used to say, "The saddest thing is going hungry." Rather wrath than regret surged within me when

I found the phrase in his diary, "Why should I have to suffer from perpetual hunger pangs?"

By 6 p.m. no injection had been given to Tae Il in the hospital. The doctor said: "It is hard to treat him here as there is no injection in this hospital. You had better go to another hospital." I felt like protesting against his irresponsible attitude, but we had no time to spare for it. We hurriedly moved to the St. Maria Hospital where I was asked to pay 30,000 *won* as the charge for injections that should be bought from a drug store. There was no injections in that hospital too.

Where could I get that 30,000 *won* then and there? So I asked the doctor to treat the case in advance, but he simply said there was no help for it.

I clung to the sleeve of the labour inspector from the Labour Office who was present there, begging him to lend me 30,000 *won* on my honest promise of future payment. But he flung off my grasp, blurt-ing, "Now you have a cheek to ask for money after causing a bothersome trouble." I fell into a swoon. There was no way to get the needed injections. It was already past 10 p.m. From time to time, Tae Il faintly muttered to himself about the improvement of working conditions and the observance of the Labour Standard Law. At last he gasped his life away after leaving the word, "Don't make my death useless!"

I relapsed into unconsciousness again for a while. But I had to start my work from that time. My task was to accomplish Tae Il's wish and not to make his death useless.

I collected myself gradually and heard they were

already discussing about the funeral. The Labour Office and police and even the General Federation of Labour Unions which ought to represent the interests of the workers attempted to keep this incident dark by quickly burying the corpse, far from trying to study the cause of his death.

I felt a rush of wrath and grievance. Tae Il died by his own hand. But it would be right to say that those heartless, brazen-faced creatures caused his death. Nevertheless, they were considering his death as troublesome, while not paying the least heed to the guarantee of the workers' rights and the improvement of the working conditions for which Tae Il had sacrificed his one and only life. They tried to make it appear that no incident had ever happened. How could those rascals be officials? Now I was firmly resolved to do something.

I said to myself: "Well, have your own way. But see who will win!" Deprived of my son in flames now, I had nothing to fear. More, I gave my solemn promise to him just before his death, determining not to make his death futile but to work heart and soul for the rights and interests of the workers. I could in no way allow those guys to run things as they liked.

I refused to take over the corpse from the St. Maria Hospital. Until Tae Il's wish was realized, I had to reject the acceptance of his corpse and the performance of his funeral service. I thought I ought to stage a demonstration carrying his corpse if his wish, that is, the improvement of the working conditions, would not be fulfilled. I thought: Was Tae Il wishing his

dead body buried in the ground? Was he sparing of his dead body after he had sacrificed his life?

In the mortuary of the hospital I spent the whole night with neighbours, demanding that Tae Il's wish be realized. At that time, the Labour Office, the General Federation of Labour Unions and the representatives of the traders concerned intended to settle the matter between themselves at their convenience. They said there was no need to donate condolence money because Tae Il had no fixed occupation then.

They also raved they would defray part of the expense for the funeral ceremony in consideration of the needy circumstances of his family. This hurtled my feelings.

I felt a sense of nihilism, thinking that a sacrifice of life for a just cause could be slighted by some money in that manner. Even in such a society where money is everything, how can a mother whose son has burned himself to death sell his death for money? They, the slaves to money, may do that, I believe. But, I think it is not likely that even they can do such a thing when it really happens to them.

I rejected the offer positively. I told them definitely that I did not want material compensation and that the funeral ceremony could be held only when the working conditions were improved as demanded by my son. However, they did not give heed to this at all. They seemed to be expecting inwardly that my strong will power would fail me with the lapse of time. They asked me to receive the condolence money, increasing its amount little by little. Now and then they intimidated me, asking why I did not perform

the funeral ceremony without any reason.

I am not a woman to be scared by such a thing. I was determined just to wait. I thought I should not spoil his desire for which he had given his life. I was convinced that his death would not be reduced to nothing. But in the solitary deadhouse there were seen only those who wanted to bring his death to naught, and there appeared no one who thought his death should not be made useless. So I sat lonely there, mute and silent, with my voice having become hoarse.

Just at that moment, several students called on me unexpectedly. Saying, "We students will uphold the spirit of Mr. Chon Tae Il and make sure that his demands will be met in the future and that his death will not be made useless," they told me they would undertake the charge of his funeral ceremony. Then they asked me to act in concert with them.

Their offer was so full of sincerity and courage that I thought they were the master of all these things. I was delighted and shed tears profusely. They recalled to my mind what Tae Il muttered to me when he started the labour movement. He said then, "Mother, I haven't a single student friend. Why so?"

Did he die to see his friends whom he could not meet alive? The students had a long conversation and expressed their resolve to work to put the desire of Tae Il into reality. And they suffered deeply with grief at his death, saying that if only they had known Mr. Chon Tae Il prior to the incident, there would not have been such a tragedy. I, too, was seized with vexation.

But I had to face a real problem after that. I had

been so far meeting narrow-minded people who pursue only their own immediate interests. But, sitting face to face with the students, I felt relieved. I told in a loud voice all the stories I had wanted to tell. Thus I committed the funeral ceremony to the students.

This visit of the students perturbed those in power. They offered to give me a larger sum of condolence money or to improve the working conditions. But their words bore little sincerity and seriousness. They were a cunning trick. Even if there was seriousness in them, I could not believe in those people. Moreover, it was their ruse to tide over the crisis. Didn't Tae Il show with his death that such words could not solve the problem? No people, whether the working people or the students, could solve the problem without fighting by means of demonstrations.

The following day many students visited the dead-house of the St. Maria Hospital. They told me that many universities in the city including Seoul University had already held demonstrations under the slogan, "Chon Tae Il's death must not be made useless!" They demanded the betterment of the working conditions and the guaranteeing of the workers' right to living.

That evening 30 students of Seoul University called on me and kept vigil together with me. While sitting up all night among them, I came to put greater confidence and expectation in the students. Their love for the weak, spirit of resistance to injustice and bold, uncompromising posture inspired in me a confidence that they would fight to the last for the rights of the working people without disgracing Tae

Il's death. I renewed my determination to fight, deeply convinced that the desire of Tae Il would not come true without fighting.

LABOUR UNION FORMED AT LAST

Now that the students visited the deadhouse all at once to fill it to overflowing and universities launched demonstrations, Tae Il revived from death. The surging waves of student demonstration restored the dead Tae Il to life, indeed. Public attention seemed to have centered on the Pyonghwa Market. Wreaths came from various organizations engaging in the labour movement and from Opposition statesmen, and condolence money from all quarters. Offers were made to erect a monument to his memory. The desolate deadhouse was filled up with wreaths and callers of condolence.

The Labour Office and the intelligence agency began to lose their composure. They brought undue pressure on me to hold the funeral ceremony. They offered to allow ten million *won* as condolence money, asking me not to aggravate the situation any further. If the funeral ceremony was performed by the students, they alleged, it would cause a commotion in society again, and, if so, it would only gladden "North Korea." Adding that seizing this opportunity, the north might launch an aggression, they urged me to finish the funeral ceremony quietly as

soon as possible.

Theirs was a threat of no meaning. If they dreaded that so much, they had better not work the workers so hard and cruelly. They had trodden down the workers to death, but when the students had joined their voice to respond to the outcry of the workers, they raised an absurd clamour against the possible "aggression from the north," far from reflecting on their misgovernment. Such was their hackneyed trick.

Dear workers,

We must not be taken in in any case. We have been constantly cheated in all matters, great or trivial. Those vicious guys have always found pretext for deceiving us. Our enemies are none other than those scoundrels who keep fooling and exploiting us, trading on our ignorance and poverty. We must never fall a prey to their deception. We must categorically reject any pretexts and any plausible promise and look squarely at the oppressive hardships we are suffering. Only by so doing, will we find strength to resent, resist and fight, and the strength with which we will win.

As public attention was focused on his death, the police and intelligence agents exercised control over the visitors to the hospital and wheeled off the students present in the mortuary. The vicinity of the hospital was swarmed with those agents and I was thrown out of contacts with all the outside people including the students.

As things came to such a pass, it was now absolutely impossible to bring Tae Il's death to naught, even if wished. Though the funeral ceremony planned

by the students was prohibited, it now enlisted undivided popular attention. What vexed me most was the fact that threatened by the owners of enterprises and intelligence agents, workers of the Pyonghwa Market were unable to continue their demonstration, carrying Tae Il's corpse on their shoulders.

Under these circumstances, the funeral ceremony was performed by the government bodies including the Labour Office. However, I got an eight-point written agreement from the head of the Labour Office and the owners of enterprises. The funeral ceremony was held on the condition that they would carry out the following agreement by the end of November: "Reduction of working hours; introduction of weekly holidays; wage rise; betterment of working environment; abolition of garrets used as work places; and formation of labour unions." The funeral ceremony was performed somehow on November 18 under the supervision of the General Federation of Labour Unions. But does the funeral ceremony matter much to us? No. The question is to fulfil the eight-point demand. This demand cannot possibly be filled if we sit with folded arms. A protracted, hard struggle is yet to be fought.

Dear working people,

This is how I entered the labour movement. It marked the beginning of my struggle to meet my promise made to my son, have his desire fulfilled and help you workers live as becoming a human being by removing your hardships root and branch. At that time I made up my mind to devote my body and soul wholly to the benefit of the working people. Up to

date since then I, on my part, have hustled about like a crazy woman. But I have done so little, and yet there is a mountain of work to do. The burden of this work is not laid on my shoulder alone. It is a work you must carry out. It is a work we must do with our united strength. Pledging myself to have a correct understanding of the work we should do and to act accordingly, I am now going to confirm again the events that ensued from the incident and our standpoints of today.

The funeral ceremony was over, but there was no signs of taking concrete measures for the fulfilment of the eight-point agreement on the improvement of the working conditions and the assistance to the formation of a labour union. The Labour Office and the intelligence agency issued only formal directives, while real supervisors and executors showed no concern at all for that. Guarding against the growing student demonstrations only, they assigned police-detectives to me to keep constant watch on me lest I should tell something to the students. It was only fortunate that in the winter of the year of Chon Tae Il's death and in the next spring the labour problem presented itself a most important issue in our society. The students, religious men and statesmen were now unable to shut their eyes to the labour problem. Everywhere there were indications proving that Tae Il's death was not useless and that it was breeding a new consciousness and resentment. However, dear workers, I am not going to review these past events today. We must exchange our views as regards what we must do from now on, that is the most important

problem.

In order to have the eight-point demand fulfilled, it was most urgent to form a labour union. We were already aware of the fact that if the working people failed to unite themselves in struggle, any written agreement or promise was of little account. The point lies not in securing a promise but in getting that promise to be carried out when it is not kept. This also required an organized action.

Observing Tae Il's death and his funeral ceremony as well as the demonstrations of the students, I came to poignantly realise the necessity of practice which they showed by marching forward, awakening public interest with their organized strength, not by word but by that strength.

After the funeral service we intended to form a labour union, but had no office room to use. When we had been active the owner of the factory had promised us to help form the labour union and put the office room on the roof at our disposal. But now he prevented us from using that room under various pretexts and hindered our work, resorting to every crafty means. We realized the verbal promise got us nowhere. Avoiding the watchful eyes of the detectives, I walked into the ground of the Commercial College of Seoul University where a hunger strike was going on in demand of the improvement of the working conditions and the guarantee of the workers' right to existence. Though we were caught by the detectives there at last, we held a negotiation on the spot and succeeded in obtaining the present of-

fice room. We held a meeting of representatives and formed the labour union.

WHY DO WE WORK UNDER THESE LABOUR CONDITIONS?

Dear workers,

Since then, I have worked almost every day for five years for the workers of the Pyonghwa Market. But your life remains as hard as before. The vicious detectives, factory owners and their servile stooges are straining every nerve to keep you away from the labour union which has come into being at the cost of my son's life. This is not all. They removed Tae Il's picture hung in the labour union office to wring my heart, and even hindered us from having an annual service in his memory.

As you know, they are so nervous about the name of Chon Tae Il that they arrest at random anyone who merely utters it. A wave of this persecution sweeps over all this land beyond the Pyonghwa Market. Are they afraid of his name being put on everybody's lips in this society? They have gone so far as to prattle that it would be better for the labour movement itself not to mouth the name of Chon Tae Il. It is a self-justification of the cowards. Whose name else shall we put up in our movement if not the name of Chon Tae Il who laid down his life in defence of the workers' rights?

Dear workers,

But we must not fret and lose our self-possession. The more the truth is suppressed, the more it prevails. As far as you live, Tae Il will live in your memory. To lead a worthy life, let's fight against all sorts of persecution. We should settle our issue by ourselves. We are neither politicians and religious men who are only concerned for their own prestige and reputation nor reptile labour unionists who fear the watchful eyes of the people. Now let's look over how things stand with us at present.

We work in dust from eight in the morning till ten in the evening without having any rest. And the clock strikes twelve when we finish supper after returning home. Beaten out by the work, we soon sink into sleep. But we have to get up at six in the morning.

Every day we devote 16 hours to attendance of duties when those for travel to the work place and back are included. We labour in a stifling place reminding of a tunnel. It is closely fenced by boards to keep it from sight. It is worse than a prison. Ventilators, if any, simply draw in dust rather than supply fresh air. Worse still, they, blinded by money-making, are not in the least concerned about the health of the workers. They think products will come out anyway from the place we are in. In summer the place turns into living hell which is so stifling no one dare enter. And no one "thanks" for our daylong toil. Instead, we are urged to work more and quicker and, at times, even showered with undeserved curses.

Amid such mental and physical sufferings, you

have caught all kinds of diseases. It is a question of time to contract bronchitis, if not tuberculosis. You suffer eye troubles as you punch needle eyes all day long in the dusty place shut out from the sun rays. So in the glare of the sun you can hardly discern everything around for a long while.

You are liable to indigestive diseases as you take breakfast after a short sleep and lunch while on job and supper nearly at twelve at night and then go to sleep. You have a yellowish complexion. It comes from indigestive troubles as well as from the lack of sun-bathing. And it comes not only from physical sufferings but from mental fatigue and agony. Most of the workers in the Pyonghwa Market are suffering from gastroenteric troubles. They have not enough food, but even if they had, they can't take their fill because of their weak stomachs. They are so feeble that they may fall a victim to every disease. And they suffer from neuralgia. One may hardly believe the young people should take this disease. We are in a sorry plight past imagination. You are young, but your faces are pale and livid. It explains you are bled white mercilessly.

You are feeble and suffer from various diseases. But you can't go to hospital when you are not in fatal danger. You have neither money nor time to go to hospital. You have been deprived of even your right to receive medical treatment.

What a pity! For whose sake should we work like this all day long even without taking hospital treatment for our injuries and diseases? Hospitals have nothing to do with us. They are simply dis-

gusting. Newspapers advertise flesh-reducers and antifat secrets for women. This is our age. Idlers take pains to lose weight. Probably we should toil hard for those who suffer from fattening. Our off-day which is given at times on Sunday is not spent in golfing, dating, hiking or going to the movies. It is mainly devoted to the sleep of the weary.

To our great mortification, we are paid too low for our work. Our pay is fixed while prices are rising sky-high. We are paid 6,000 or 8,000 *won* a month for our thirteen-hour or more working day. A tailor's cutter with a work record of ten odd years gets only 10,000 *won* a month. That is why many workers have to skip their lunch and toil till late at night.

People may hardly understand our poverty and hunger-stricken life.

Those who cannot digest without taking a peptic will never understand how much meat we have taken. On each occasion, the government states that the income per head of the population will reach 1,000 dollars and the export will amount to the sum of 10,000 million dollars in the 1980's. Those higher-ups seem to think that we may nurse some hope for that future, living on air. But I fear we will die of hunger by that time.

Dear workers,

Just think. The 1980's is five years ahead. Is our life better than that five years ago? It has been rather worsened. Then how is it that they claim our life will be improved? Here too, they are going to make fools of us. They mouthed platitudes about the rosy prospects of the 1970's. Now they sing the same song

about the 1980's. Their trick has not changed. But our people have so short a memory. No, they remember it rather clearly. They only keep mum as if they had a fancy for that song.

Dear workers,

It is also to be regretted that the youngsters of 16 or 17 who ought to go to school are denied the opportunity of learning. We are told that knowledge is might and studying is indispensable for life. Indeed, we must study. You have to toil all day long to earn a livelihood in your school ages. The daughters of the factory owners in the same ages with you go to school, wearing smart uniforms and carrying nice bags, while you are coming to that dusty place, dragging your heavy feet. What a striking contrast! Why should you toil on empty stomachs at night when they are enjoying themselves before T.V. sets together with their families, taking delicious fruit and cakes? When you are rocking in a full bus after a day's drudgery, they drive past you in their own cars, casting lowering looks at you. What a sharp contrast! When you are being bled white, those higher-ups live in the lap of luxury, behaving themselves waywardly. They keep their sons and daughters in cotton wool while stamping you, young shoots in the bud. What a pity!

LABOUR CLASSROOM

Is it all fate? No, it isn't. Men are all equal when they are born. No one is born with privilege. Tae Il believed in this equality. So he had never been a sneaker. He always said straight to others even though he lived on air and in rags. Though all are born equal, there is a great gap between the factory owners' offsprings and you. Sooner or later they will drive us hard in place of their fathers. How can we explain this life?

We must create conditions for learning by ourselves at any cost. We must refuse to become their slaves. If we fail to learn and if we fail to educate our children properly, our bitter fate will go down for ever. We must learn even not to bring agony and shame on our posterity. For this, we should demand the reduction of our working day, claim our legal rights, and fight for them.

If we work eight hours a day as stipulated in the Labour Standard Law, we will be able to study hard in this Labour Classroom even in needy circumstances. Work must be over at six o'clock in the afternoon at the latest.

From the events that have taken place in our Labour Classroom, we can verify our attitude toward the shallow trick of the factory owners. This classroom was originally set up and run for the work-

ers on the initiative of their representatives.

Nevertheless, the factory owners have propagated their "charity" after waywardly organizing what is called its operation committee. Under this propaganda they have virtually repressed the Labour Classroom.

Perhaps fearing that the ignorant workers of the Pyonghwa Market would boycott overtime work if they received education, they saw to it that lessons were conducted not for the workers but for children of the neighbourhood in the Labour Classroom. They educated them, even offering scholarships, after driving out the workers of the Pyonghwa Market.

Besides, the factory owner propagated his sincere efforts for the education of children, painting himself as an "influential person" in Central District through the agency of vice-chairman of the Republican Party. While showing such "kindness," he insisted that education should not be given to the juvenile workers. They have the obligation to provide an opportunity of learning for the workers. This is our right clarified in the Labour Standard Law. Nevertheless, they have denied us this right for two years while doing such a preposterous act.

Time and again I demanded them to transfer the operation right of the Labour Classroom to the workers. But, each time they didn't hear. On the evening of cherishing the memory of Chon Tae Il, this day of last year, I threatened the factory director just at this place, saying that if the Labour Classroom was not returned to us at an early date, he would be stabbed to death by me. For this reason I was once

taken off to an investigation organ. They tried to brand me as a lawbreaker. But I didn't fear their law at all. I said to them all that was in my mind. Those who infringe upon human rights are protected while those who claim their rights are punished—this is the law of the “Republic of Korea.”

After this incident we workers decided to take back our Labour Classroom and fought for it. On February 7 last more than 100 workers assembled there and, shedding tears of wrath, staged a sit-down struggle, shouting the slogan, “Return our Labour Classroom!” In face of our tough attitude and overwhelmed by our firm determination, they could not but transfer it to us. Thus, we regained our lost Labour Classroom. This is a brilliant success we have won through our united struggle. When we fight in unity, those who look down on us and work us hard will fear us and kneel down before us. What a delightful thing this is!

RATHER THAN TO LIVE ON OUR KNEES

I have so far told about the death of Chon Tae Il and about our plight and stressed that we could achieve our rights through our own struggle. Before concluding my speech I would like to stress once again the necessity of our own struggle.

Are there still now any people among us who expect the rich entrepreneurs to help us and relieve

our sufferings? Do you think that when the entrepreneurs make money, they will give us part of it? No, certainly not. It would be lucky if that money is not used in increasing our torture. The more money one makes, the more one wants to make it and becomes stingy with it. The money they have earned is a fruit of our drudgery. They have earned it not by issuing it. To earn more money they will work us harder. We must bear in mind that they are different from us in nature. We must clearly understand that they are a sort of people who know only money and outrage our conscience. So we must not look for their favours in vain. They are abnormal, money-eating worms.

They often say: "If we entrepreneurs earn much money, where will it go? It goes to you workers like water brimming over a pail spreading in all directions." Like this, they try to cheat you by plausible words. Have you ever seen such an entrepreneur who distributes money to his workers when he made a lot of it? If any, he does so only to drive his workers harder. But we have never seen such an entrepreneur who presents us with even a piece of block for our board shanties, while he is building a palace-like house and arranging a lordly mansion abroad. They pull down our board houses at random under the pretext of beautifying the city far from thanking us for their luxurious life. Despite their repeated five-year plans executed under the name of economic development, there still remain board houses. Complaining of their existence, they now say those shanties wound their honour. Hence, they are out to pull down them forci-

bly by orders, in disregard of the livelihood of their dwellers. They throw their shabby household utensils out of the shanties destroying them and drive them off to uninhabitable places, without giving them a penny. The victims, driven to the limit of endurance, rose in a struggle. This was the incident which occurred in the Kwangju industrial zone five years ago.

Though they pay thousands, nay, tens of thousands of *won* for a meal, they do not treat us to a hundred-*won* bowl of noodle. They send their children to America or England for studies lodging them in hotels, but never buy even a copy of a book for us who have not received even regular primary schooling. They fear we should read books in snatched moments. For they are afraid of our becoming erudite. Yes. This is the very nature of the entrepreneurs. And it is politicians who take the fruits of our labour in collusion with them. Who can we trust and rely on under these circumstances? What can we expect from them? We must find out the way to our existence for ourselves. We must unite ourselves, fight and dominate them. This is the way for our existence, and at the same time, the way to relieve them from their inhuman life filled with waste, vanity, falsehood and deception.

Dear workers,

We should, first of all, not be taken in by their false propaganda and empty preaching. They propagandize: Endure and wait, and you will become well off; in the 80's the per capita income will reach 1,000 dollars and the amount of export 10,000 million dollars, and you will have your own houses, televi-

sions, refrigerators and private cars. Now they seem to have forgotten all about their former propaganda that the people's living standards would be improved in the 70's.

And upon finding the people disbelieve their fantastic story about the 80's, they have now started talking about the fate of South Vietnam, alleging that a new war will break out in not a distant future. At the same time, they preach that if we work diligently we can enjoy a good life. They force diligence, frugality and economy on us.

What does this mean? How can we be more industrious when we are labouring over 13 hours a day? How much should we become frugal when we have no clothes to change for washing and live in board shanties? What should we economize in when we have to work with an empty stomach until past 10 o'clock at night for lack of money to buy a hundred-won bowl of noodle? It is none other than they who should do such a thing, but they demand it of us. It is designed to veil their exploitation and our sufferings. While indulging in a predatory life, they have the impudence to preach diligence, frugality and economy to us who are worn-out to the bone.

Nor is this all. They force on us the people national harmony, maintenance of security with general mobilization, eating of boiled rice mixed with other cereals, eradication of evil customs and the like—which must be all translated into action by those brutes themselves. What the devil is export? Why do they rant that only export would bring about happiness? Incomprehensible. If the export amount-

ing to 10,000 million dollars could improve the people's life, then the amount of 6,000 million dollars should have half improved it. The reality is reverse and this reveals their falsity. Far from admitting their political blunder, they blame it all on the oil fluctuation. Any good alibi serves them in hoodwinking the people and knocking the breath out of them.

And to my shock, they make laws as they wish as easily as kneading flour. They themselves do not want to keep laws, they make laws one after another to legalize their evil practices, while forcing us to observe them. They have free access to golf links and restaurants. But they do not allow us to have a demonstration, even when we become crippled and even when we are condemned to a miserable life. They crack down upon us workers by dint of queer measures and orders despite the fact that we have a due, legal right to unite and demonstrate for the improvement of our working conditions and the guarantee of our rights and interests. Should we observe the laws like these? We cannot improve our life by diligence and economy.

Only by getting rid of those who exploit and sicken us, can the industrious and honest people live well. When a society good to live in is built, diligence and economy will prove their weight and worth.

Though my story is long, I have one more thing to say. Now the entrepreneurs say that as they cannot raise the unit cost of labour, so we must produce more goods to increase our monthly wages. They demand of us to do our best to raise the output per worker from 20 to 25. However, can we endure and

stand this toil? So far we have made 20 at the price of terrible efforts. We should have the unit cost raised from 40 *won* to 50 *won*. We must demand the price of our labour be paid full. If we cannot eke out a living for all our hard toil, it is because we are exploited by someone. We should not meekly obey orders of these exploiters.

Today we have gathered here to commemorate the day when Chon Tae Il took his own life for the working people. If we only shed tears of sorrow here, Tae Il would want to die again. We must rise and fight to regain our rights. Then, Tae Il too will be happy in the other world.

We must not become weak. We workers who are fighting with a determination to rise and die rather than live on their knees can defeat the villains. Those who fight defying death will surely win and those who step back cowardly to survive is doomed to death. Let us march ahead and win victory! No one can check this just struggle.

Our victory will be sure to come when we tens of thousands of workers, together with the poor and hunger-stricken masses of citizens, make this Chonggyecheon Street overflow with demonstrators. We must not hesitate. We must not try to read others' faces only. Let us fight valiantly to root out this suffocating pain. Let us put up bloody resistance in the way that if one man ahead falls in the fighting, another one rises to take his place.

This is the only way to sure victory. Tae Il calls us to this struggle even this moment.

DECLARATION OF STRUGGLE FOR THE RESTORATION OF PEOPLE'S RIGHTS

Now our beloved homeland is in flame. The whole country is enveloped in black smoke and all the people are raising an outcry, hovering between life and death in the surging flames. Who has made this monstrous tragedy? Who has driven our nation into this hollow of death?

Look at the horde of shameless gangsters who robbed the people of their sovereignty at the point of bayonet, wrested democratic constitutional government from them and have strangled the basic rights of man! Look at the mad dogs which have completely trampled on the people's rights through foxy plots and wolfish pillagings betraying their well-intentioned trust and defying their just criticisms on countless occasions, and are mercilessly biting, tearing and killing the masters of national conscience who are crying out for the love of the country!

Look at the traitors who have made the people slaves of poverty, fear and shame by ruling over them by deception, self-righteousness and force, stopped at nothing to perpetuate the regime they robbed by abus-

ing the question of national reunification, the long-cherished desire of the nation, and reduced the country to Japan's economic dependency and plaything by repressing the fair and square spirits of the nation.

Look at those who have at last committed horrible historic crime by degrading our beloved homeland into a poor international orphan and the proud spirit of the nation into a disgraceful prostitute!

A second Li Wan Yong, Pak Jung Hi, and your gang of traitors, listen! What are you going to do with these serious errors and tragedy you have imposed on the people? Do you think you will get away with your crimes if only you, driven into a corner, close the place of learning and truth and change your seats between yourselves? Do you think everything will go as you wish again if you intimidate all the people with 15 years of imprisonment? Sons of Vipers, do you really think you will not incur God's great rage.

We people will never be trampled under your dirty jackboots again. Our nation will no longer remain the poor victim of the cruel dictatorship. We will stab you with your blood-stained swords with which you have killed the innumerable young souls of the nation. Now history has already delivered judgment in the flaming homeland. A great democratic revolution for truth, freedom and justice is tolling the knell for the fascist Pak regime and ushering in a new brilliant history of the nation.

Beloved patriotic overseas compatriots! Let us all rise up in the name of our fervent love for the country and nation! Let us all rise up to overthrow the

Pak regime according to the solemn dictates of patriotism!

OUR RESOLUTION

1. We brand Pak Jung Hi and his ilk who have stamped out our freedom and civil rights as traitors to the nation.

2. We declare illegal all the outrages committed by the dictatorial Pak regime under the revitalized system established under martial law.

3. We proclaim that we will fight, to the last one man, to the last moment, to topple the Pak regime and achieve human liberation.

January 25, 1974

The Struggle Committee of the Koreans
in the United States for the Restoration
of the People's Rights

WE URGE THE GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE TO RECONSIDER THEIR POSTURE TOWARD JAPAN

Members of the "Women's Grand Lecture Meeting to Reconsider the Posture toward Japan" arranged jointly by south Korean women's organizations

APPEAL TO THE PEOPLE

Dear people,

The "Women's Lecture Meeting to Reconsider the Posture toward Japan" held today under the joint auspices of the south Korean women's organizations appeals to you people, reflecting a firm and sincere determination from the bottom of our hearts.

Our country and nation are facing harsher and graver ordeals than ever before. We believe you have already felt it keenly and we need not dwell upon it anew here.

One of those ordeals is a serious hardship of people's life due to the ever-rising prices of commodities. And we people do not know what to do as their basic rights are trampled on.

Still worse, Kubota, Takasugi, and Tanaka's remarks that reflected the arrogant aggressive nature of Japanese have infuriated us by giving an impulse

to our gloomy minds like adding oil to fire.

We did not want to accuse Japan of its previous unpardonable crimes. We hoped to open a new history of good relationship with her, even suppressing our national wrath and enduring pains and complications within the nation caused by territorial division.

But, look! Far from disappearing, the ghost of Japanese imperialism, now assuming the form of economic invasion, is trying every possible means to turn the chastity of wives and daughters of our country into commodities for tourism and even to transplant pollution industry endangering the lives of the people.

Now we can no longer give our tacit permission to this reality. We people must have the deep consciousness of a sovereign and expose the aggressive ambition of Japan to the whole world to get them flayed, and internally must criticize and watch the Japanese policy of the Administration, a public organ for the people, lash at its blunders in a positive posture, and have courage enough to get it to rectify them.

Dear fellow countrymen,

The reality is too cruel and severe for us to sit, only repenting of our past. So we cannot defer anything even a moment. So, we appeal to you, all the people, to develop, with this lecture meeting as a point of departure, a great people's movement in order to realize our following resolutions:

1. Respected and beloved people! Let us reject

luxury, vanity and indolence and establish a new outlook on value in a new posture.

2. Benevolent people! Let us get ourselves free from an inferiority complex full of flunkeyist ideas, have a pride in our being a civilized nation and become a people who play a vanguard role in achieving social justice, and thus call upon Japan to abandon its insular spirit.

3. Sagacious people! Let us unite in the spirit of March First to launch a campaign to boycott Japanese goods, repel Japan's economic invasion on the strength of us people, masters of our country, and prevent the pollution industry from being shipped into south Korea.

4. Brothers and sisters throughout the country! Our country is disgraced by the abandoned women who sell their chastity to Japanese tourists in search of living. We, in name of 15 million women, appeal to you to show your love and save our colleagues, our daughters and wives, together with the government.

5. Respected people! The present state of affairs is directly attributable to the inconsistent policy of the administrative authorities and to their weak-kneed diplomacy, so we appeal to you to demand that they give up the shameful attitude of an attendant.

February 26, 1974

A PETITION TO THE GOVERNMENT

Prime Minister Tanaka made a reckless remark

about our nation without repenting of the historical errors Japan had committed against Korea for the past 36 years. Considering his remark speaks for the intention of the Japanese state, it is all the more intolerable.

We the people feel heavy responsibility for this attitude of Japan, but we think the government must equally feel keen responsibility for it. Hoping that with this as an occasion, the government will take a strong posture towards Japan lest the blood shed by the forerunners should come to naught, and we make the following petition in the name of the 15 million women:

1. The government must be confident in the prestige and pride of the Republic of Korea in its relations with Japan;

2. The government must take a resolute attitude to completely change the attitude of the Japanese people who are still under an illusion that their colonial policy is being extended to the present;

3. The government must take thorough measures to stop prostitution tourism and the import of pollution industry, which are the outcome of an excessive economic dependence on Japan and an undue industrial development;

4. The government must positively accelerate its negotiations with the Japanese government in connection with the improvement of conditions and treatment of our compatriots in Japan.

February 26, 1974

A WARNING TO JAPAN

It is an undeniable historical fact that Japan's relationship with Korea is, in a word, a continuation of aggression. The Japanese pirate raiders' pillage, the Japanese invasion of Korea in 1592, the 36-year-long occupation of Korea by the Japanese imperialists and the principled factors of territorial division and national split implanted a deep hatred in the hearts of our people.

This notwithstanding, we did not claim due compensation for our dishonoured history in order to establish a good-neighbour relationship based on unity, mutual benefit and equality with all free friendly nations of the world. Forgetting the humiliation of the past and enduring the sorrow of the present, we had the generosity to expect the normalization of diplomatic relations under a system of harmonious cooperation between the two countries from the standpoint of mankind which only desires the co-existence and co-prosperity of the future. However, Japan, we remember, did not repent of her past at all and led the south Korea-Japan talks high-handedly, thereby throwing our entire people into a rage again.

The south Korea-Japan friendship pact was formally signed amid the fierce demonstrations of students, religionists, intellectuals, anti-Japanese fighters, politicians in and out of power and all the other people, leaving almost unreflected the claim of our country that Japan should unreservedly apologize for

her past crime, recognize the pride of our country as an independent state, pay us what must be paid for and respect each other's rights and interests.

Today, nine years after the normalization of diplomatic relations, when we look back on the south Korea-Japan relations in that period and recollect Tanaka's recent parliamentary speech and Kubota's reckless remark, Japan's view on south Korea is not only fundamentally wrong as we worried over, but it has opened up again our unhealed wounds by revealing the characteristics of an aggressor.

Here we extend upon our conscience the following warning to Japan from the standpoint of human and national history.

1. Japan should reestablish her view on south Korea on the principle of mutual benefits and equality and help for the co-existence and co-prosperity of the two countries.

2. Japan should keenly feel her liability for the crime she committed against south Korea and discharge, with a consciousness of penitence, her historic mission to reunify the Korean peninsula by peaceful means.

3. Don't mistake the Korean peninsula for a political victim of Japan's new aggressive continental policy.

4. Respect the human rights of Korean residents in Japan, immediately stop inhuman handling of them and abrogate harsh discriminative treatment of our compatriots in education and employment.

5. Readjust the relations of economic cooperation

between south Korea and Japan and stop at once the export of pollution industries to south Korea.

6. See that Japanese tourist parties or investors have a correct understanding of south Korea and put an end to such an act as prostitution tourism.

7.

We warn Japan that she will be entirely held responsible for the worsening of relationship between south Korea and her in consequence of her denial to our claims.

February 26, 1974

RESOLUTION

This resolution was carried in the April 11, 1974, issue of Minjok Sibô, a newspaper of Korean residents in Japan. It was adopted at the "mass meeting of Koreans in Japan to warmly support the patriotic struggle of the youth and students in the homeland" held on April 7 under the joint auspices of seven democratic organizations affiliated with the Pro-South Korean Residents Union in Japan (the Mindan)—the "Japan Headquarters of the National Congress for Restoration of Democracy in South Korea and Promotion of Unification," the "Council for National Unification," the "Mindan Committee for Protection of Independence," the "Tokyo Headquarters of the Mindan," "Kanagawa Prefecture Headquarters of the Mindan," the "League of South Korean Youth in Japan," the "Tokyo Headquarters of South Korean Women's Association." Follows the full text of the resolution:

Bearing the honour of the nation and the destiny of the country on their shoulders, the brave lions have risen up again.

They have risen in order to get rid of the disgrace of submission and the sorrow of dependence and take back the deprived rights and the oppressed freedom. They have raised the torch of challenge before the bayonets of the fascist dictatorship, defying cruel torture and the fear of death.

In an irrepressible gale of violence, grass and trees trembled, the waters of rivers froze and even the public sentiments seemed to have been congealed, but now, with the coming of this spring in which everything begins to stir, they opened a fire of struggle to break the night of heavy silence and usher in a new great history.

Inviolable rights, uncompromising claims, and the hearts of the angry young lions declared a struggle.

For the right of the soul trampled on by disgrace, for the freedom of thought humiliated, and for democracy crossing the death line, the ranks of the enraged have held up a flag.

Look at the people who are struggling to survive in a turbid stream of history muddled up by mistreatment and mistrust of man by man, confusion between black and white, contradictions between good and evil, fear of abominable intelligence authority, trifling with the principles of law, and wretched plight of life.

Self-effacement, spiritual collapse, atrophy of conscience, moral depravity—this is the futile result of human denial the Pak Jung Hi dictatorial regime has

produced in the empty name of "anti-communism."

For all this, must we people only remain submissive? How long should we live on without rights like a living corpse? We can't do so. Give back our robbed freedom. Return our democracy trampled on. Allow us to become our own selves and live for ourselves.

The cries for justice are echoing in the air of the April sky, displaying the refusal of intelligence not to live as a living corpse. What does history demand of us at this grave moment?

It is said that the people are not granted even the freedom of silence. This is an accusation of barbaric fascism. But it is absurd to hope one will be rescued by silence. Silence cannot lead history. Under the present situation silence is a treachery to justice and an irresponsibility for the country and nation.

At this moment when freedom is at stake, there is little room for retreat to avoid confrontation. A decisive moment is drawing near when even onlookers of history cannot but confirm their views and stand.

An ever-burning passion and unending struggle for truth alone can lead the times and create history. To topple dictatorship and regain democracy means seizing the last hill for survival as a man, as a nation.

Though years and months pass, the desire of man for truth becomes unabated and intenser. We know through history that stillness does not mean death, and the lack of arms weakness.

Life does not consist in power; it resides in

truth. Strength does not lie in authority; it is comprised in justice. Victory of tomorrow is on the side of the people.

It is a calm flow of time, a stern judgement of history and a grand march of the times.

The times are the will of the people. They are not the will of a dictator or power elites, but the will of the masses—workers, peasants and students; they are the strength of the masses.

It is the people who create history and advance the times forward.

One who slights the people, suppresses them and rejects their opinion is a traitor to history, the times and the will. Only defeat and punishment are in store for a dictator going against the demand of history and the times.

Supporting the sublime national-salvation struggle of the students in the homeland who have resolutely risen in resistance to the fascist suppression of dictator Pak Jung Hi and his ilk who are trying to reject the needs of the times and repress the will of the people, today we resolve:

—To render positive support to the save-the-country struggle of the students at home for the restoration of freedom and democracy and launch diversified struggles with a sense of firm unity with them.

—To demand the immediate release of the students and patriotic figures who were arrested and detained by the Pak dictatorial regime and are groaning under torture.

—To fight in unity with the fellow countrymen

at home and abroad to abrogate the revitalized system and emergency measures of the Pak dictatorial regime and establish a democratic constitutional government.

—To demand the complete restoration of Mr. Kim Dae Jung's liberty and the guarantee of his rights.

—To oppose Japan's support for the Pak regime and her economic invasion of south Korea and demand that she give up oppression of our compatriots in Japan and her policy of discrimination towards them.

—To overthrow the Pak dictatorial regime which has become a band of human slaughters and thoroughly condemn their outrages.

April 7, 1974

A Mass Meeting of South Koreans in
Japan to Warmly Support Patriotic Struggle of the Youth and Students in the
Homeland

STATEMENT

The students in the homeland, who are carrying forward the brilliant patriotic traditions of our people who love justice and freedom and are ready to dedicate their life to the struggle for the sake of the nation, rose again in a heroic fight on the 3rd, raising the torch of anti-dictatorship and democratization in

defiance of the fascist suppression of the Pak dictatorial regime.

That day, in response to the call of the National Federation of Democratic Youth and Students, the students of the Medical College, the College of Liberal Arts and Science, the Commercial College and the Normal College of Seoul University and Rihwa Women's University held meetings simultaneously and resolved to demand the release of the arrested students and the guarantee of campus freedom, to oppose intelligence government, reject the inflation policy driving the people's livelihood into an abyss of unprecedented misery and oppose the colonial economic policy of serving solely the big Japanese capitalists and the privileged circles, and staged demonstrations, thus opening a prelude to a general rising of the nation.

The determined rise and struggle of these youth and students is a continuation of the people's anti-Pak, anti-dictatorship and anti-Japanese struggle which had taken place from October 2 last year to January 8 this year and a just patriotic struggle reflecting the will and demand of all the people who are aspiring after freedom, democracy, national sovereignty and peaceful reunification.

Nevertheless, the atrocious Pak dictatorial regime prohibited all the activities of the National Federation of Democratic Youth and Students and the students and newly proclaimed "Emergency Decree No. 4" to sentence its violators to capital punishment at an emergency court-martial. They are now feverishly manoeuvring to crack down on all youth and

students rising in a patriotic struggle.

It is said many tyrants appeared in the long history of mankind, but when and where has there ever been such an oppressor who imposed death sentence upon the people simply on a charge of holding a meeting or demonstration for existence? No one but devilish homicide Pak Jung Hi can commit such an inhuman fascist atrocity.

The fascist cutthroat, Pak Jung Hi, and his ilk have hitherto arrested a great number of innocent people and sentenced them to heavy penalties.

Particularly, these days they arrested and killed Choe Jong Gil, prominent scholar and professor at Seoul University, on the charge of being a "spy"; and they took a demonstrating Rihwa Women's University student to the KCIA, tortured her, stripped naked, and even committed an atrocity of raping her.

As can be seen, having been deprived of all their freedoms and rights and right to live by the fascist repression and treacherous country-selling acts of the devilish Pak Jung Hiites, the people in south Korea are now thrown into a hopeless state of misery. On top of it, the nation's dignity and sovereignty are extremely trampled down due to the ever-intensifying aggression of the Japanese militarists.

If one has even a scrap of national conscience and loves the homeland, how can one look on this state of affairs with folded arms?

Out of passionate compatriotic affection, we warmly support the south Korean youth and students who have risen in the struggle for democracy and national salvation at the risk of their lives and express

our firm resolve to fight together with them. At the same time, we condemn with utmost indignation the fascist plots of the murderous Pak regime and the aggressive acts of the Japanese militarists.

The Pak dictatorial regime tries to tide over its crisis by retaining power through Japan's economic aid and its fascist suppression. But this is nothing but an illusion.

The heroic struggle of the homeland's youth and students for the people's right to existence and the restoration of genuine freedom and democracy will further expand and develop with the support of the entire people, smash the fascist rule of the Pak dictatorial regime and the invasion of the Japanese militarists, and win an ultimate victory without fail.

—The Pak dictatorial regime, abolish the fascist emergency measures and immediately release the arrested and detained youth and students, men of culture, religious men, and scholars!

—Recognize the complete restoration of Mr. Kim Dae Jung's liberty and allow his second visit to Japan!

—The Japanese ruling circles, immediately stop your acts of aggression on south Korea and *kisaeng*-girl tourism!

—Down with the Pak dictatorial regime!

April 4, 1974

The Japan Headquarters of the National Congress for Restoration of Democracy in South Korea and Promotion of Unification

The Council for National Unification
The Mindan Committee for Protection
of Independence
The Tokyo Headquarters of the Mindan
The Kanagawa Prefecture Headquarters
of the Mindan
The League of South Korean Youth in
Japan
The Tokyo Headquarters of South Korean
Women's Association in Japan

DECLARATION FOR DEMOCRACY AND NATIONAL SALVATION— DECLARATION FOR RESIGNATION OF PAK REGIME

South Korean political and religious figures made public the "Declaration for Democracy and National Salvation" on March 1, 1976, in opposition to Pak Jung Hi's fascist dictatorship. Its gist is as follows:

IN HONOUR OF THIS DAY, CELEBRATING THE 57th ANNIVERSARY OF THE MARCH FIRST UPRISING

The shouts of this nation which resounded throughout the world on March 1, 1919, its cries for sovereignty and independence, still ringing in our ears, we cannot sit with folded arms, having guilty

conscience that doing so is as good as bringing the blood shed by the fighters for national salvation to naught.

To express our views, we issue this "Declaration for Democracy and National Salvation" to people at home and abroad.

The tragedy of territorial division which crushed the hope brightened by the August 15 liberation rendered our people repeated trials, but they did not give up hope to the end.

They rose up on the debris caused by the June 25 upheaval, and toppled the Syngman Rhee dictatorship through the April 19 student revolution which reinstated a faith in "free democracy" in their minds.

However, only a short time later they were again in the chains of dictatorship.

The separation of the three powers has become a mere trumpery.

Under the pretext of national security the freedom of religion and conscience is restricted with each passing day, and the freedom of speech and the autonomy of campus have been suppressed.

The south Korea-Japan agreement concluded by the present regime has made the economy of this country completely dependent on the Japanese economy and thus turned all industries and labour power into a sacrifice for Japanese economic invasion.

Externally the Republic of Korea has become a poor orphan of international society.

It was once said to be the "sole legitimate regime" on the Korean peninsula recognized by the United Nations, but this has now become a myth of the

past. It only relied on the Western world without paying attention to the Third World which had appeared as a new force in world history to drive a decisive wedge between the Eastern and Western camps. And now it finds itself forsaken even by the Western world.

The present regime must be held responsible for having led this country to such point.

It must deeply lament over the fact that it has betrayed the trust of democratic countries by suppressing the critical democratic forces at home. It must blame itself for its having failed to see with long-sighted eyes the trend of the development of world history before accusing the qualitative change of the United Nations as a result of the emergence of the Third World.

At this time when we should build up and unite democratic forces at home and abroad for "national reunification," our earnest desire, and make a steady advance towards it step by step, our human rights are violated under the one-man dictatorship and freedom is denied.

As a result, this nation is trudging along the road to a total ruin without purpose, a definite destination, and a faith in democracy. Unable to remain an onlooker to this situation, we issue the "Declaration for Democracy and National Salvation," looking forward to the distant future of this country, transcending the political strategy and interests of the ins and outs.

1. A country must stand on a democratic basis. Democracy is the national policy of the Republic of Korea.

Accordingly, the legitimacy of the Republic of Korea lies in democracy.

Therefore, democracy must not be restricted under any pretext.

It is a democratic force that we must bring up for good. It is necessary to build up defence capacity and economic power, too, but, without the backing of the democratic force, they are just like a castle in the air.

What then does democracy mean? It does not mean a definite system which is practised in other countries, but means a conviction and posture to work out a best system according to the will of the members of a society, improve it without letup, and thus promote the rights, interests and happiness of all of them.

2. The plan and posture to build a state on the basis of the economy must be fundamentally reconsidered.

We are well aware that the development of the economy is important in building up national power. However, economic power is not national strength in itself. Nevertheless, narrow-minded people made every effort exerted to the development of the economy at the expense of everything.

But, what is the result? The export industry based on the plunder of the national economy caused a great trade deficit of 4,000 million dollars in the two years of 1974 and 1975, and there is no possibility that the deficit margin will be lowered in the future.

As of the end of 1975 our country's foreign debt had totalled 5,780 million dollars.

If the loan enterprises prove fruitless and go bankrupt, who then will pay off this extravagant amount of debt? The government's plan to establish a state on the basis of the economy, which was drawn up under the condition that the workers were denied even the rights to organize labour unions and go on strike and that the workers and peasants were subjected to exploitation by the loan enterprises and foreign capital, was not for the good of the people from the start.

It was wrong not to build up the national economy first and then encourage the export industries.

It was a wild fancy to try to establish a great modern industry on the ruins of the rural economy.

The economic system dependent solely on loans was fraught with a factor of corruption from the beginning.

If things go on like this, this country will soon face economic catastrophe.

It was long ago that the present regime became powerless to save the country from its economic bankruptcy. For the economic irrationalities and corruptions emerged from the heart of the power structure.

In view of such state of affairs, the Pak regime has no other way but to resign, taking the responsibility for it.

According to our opinion, it is inevitable to change the regime even for asking a grace of payment of loans to the loan countries and banks so that the economic catastrophe is prevented and the confidence of international society maintained.

Therefore, democracy must be applied "by the peo-

ple” rather than “for the people.” In other words, what is good “for the country and the people” must be judged “by the people.” Democracy can not be realized if one merely thinks one works for the people while giving no ear to their judgement.

If one thinks democracy can be realized that way, one has an illusion that order and obedience are democracy. Such is by no means in the interests of the people.

The people do not obey but claim for active participation in government.

The people cannot forfeit their basic rights to watch and criticize the government. For it means the abandonment of democracy.

Then, what is the way to realize democracy “by the people?” It is the people’s basic right termed freedom.

This means that the people must be provided with the freedom of expressing themselves, free from spiritual and physical dangers.

That is why we demand the release of the democrats and students who were arrested because they had called for democracy and the immediate repeal of the emergency measures aimed at suppressing the freedom of the people.

We demand that the freedoms of speech, assembly and the press be given to the people so that they can freely express their will.

We also insist upon the recovery of parliamentary government which has become nominal due to the Revitalization Constitution.

The National Assembly must reflect the free will

of the people in instituting laws and the government apply it in administration.

A government which dislikes and rejects this claim is a regime having no intention of serving the people in effect while clamouring about it.

Thirdly, we demand the independence of judicature. For, without it, the people have no way of protecting themselves from the arrogance of the strong. Therefore, the regime which has made the judiciary its waiting-maid must be regarded as a regime having no intention of serving the people at all.

If it has no humble courage enough to serve the people, we demand that it completely reexamine open-heartedly the plan for the establishment of an economy-based state. Frankly admit the real state of things, instead of hiding and justifying it. Cancel the swollen budget worked out in disregard of the people's ability to bear the national tax.

Redistribute wealth thoroughly and resolutely to increase the purchasing power of the people.

3. "National reunification" is the supreme task of our people.

More intolerable is the fact that our people's wisdom and creativity which must be mobilized for the creation of our culture are being wasted away destructively.

Hence "national reunification" is the supreme task of our people at present.

It is a task which must be achieved by the wisdom and strength of our 50 million people.

If an individual or a group uses "national reunification" for his or its strategic purpose or obstructs

it, they will never escape a stern judgement of history.

The opportunity of "national reunification" may arise soon or late according to what posture the statesmen of the north and the south will assume.

If one really works for the country and people one must have resources and courage great enough to resolutely take the opportunity when it comes, while availing oneself of the changing international situation.

This precisely is an independent diplomacy we must pursue.

In that event, we have one principle to observe to the last. It is a great democratic charter stipulating that the best system and policy for our unified country and people should be established "by the people."

Looking forward to the day which is drawing nearer, are we bringing up a democratic force or weakening it? A short cut to "national reunification" is to bring up the democratic force.

This is just what our 50 million people should throw themselves into for the creation of a new history.

This is just what they should do to raise again the torch of Asia which was held up in the March First Movement and the April 19 Uprising.

This is just what makes our people maintain their due dignity in international community as a united nation, as the people of a peaceful country where justice prevails and human rights are guaranteed.

Long live democracy!

March 1, 1976

Ham Sok Hon, Yun Bo Son, Chong Il
Hyong, Kim Dae Jung, Kim Gwan Sok,
Won Myong Gi, Yun Ban Ung, An
Byong Mu, Li Mun Yong, So Nam
Dong, Mun Dong Hwan and Li U
Jong

DECLARATION FOR DEMOCRACY AND NATIONAL SALVATION OF SEOUL UNIVERSITY STUDENTS

On December 8, 1976, Seoul University students held an anti-government protest rally where the following "Declaration for Democracy and National Salvation" was distributed:

—Fellow students! The pulses of the March 1 Movement and the April 19 Revolution are going to stop beating. Collegians who would resolutely rise whenever the country was faced with a crisis!

Students who have burned your youthful hearts in the struggle against imperialism and dictatorship!

—History calls us again. Now the sky is overcast and the earth is frozen, but there is no one talking the truth. Cowardly, every one keeps silence. How long will this stifling silence continue?

—Fellow students! We must accuse this crude reality without hesitation. We shudder at the

mere thought of October 17, 1972, when the Revitalization Constitution was enforced with the clatter of tanks shaking the earth. What has the Constitution brought to us?

It is the emergency measures.

—Emergency measures suppressed and trampled on campus freedom and cut the windpipe of the press, wielding iron clubs. Innumerable righteous people were put into prison. Within the campuses the students' right to self-government was rooted out through the instrumentality of the Students Defence League, a reptile organization.

—Deprived of even their three rights to labour on top of a sharp price rise and starvation wages, the working people are seriously threatened with the complete loss of their right to live.

—The people are the source of all powers.

The Constitution must be instituted according to the will of the people. Nevertheless, the present regime, in the autocratic way of thinking that identifies the state with a government, completely put down the efforts for democratic constitutional revision.

—Why does a man with a limited life try to dominate the infinite history? Why does a man with limited wisdom try to violate freedom with infinite vitality? Why does a man with limited ability try to take charge of constantly changing security for himself? Why does a ruler with limited personality try to cling to the perpetual government of the people?

—That is not all. The present regime hurt the self-respect of the south Korean people for the scandal of bribery involving US high-ranking officials. The present regime has presented tens of millions of dollars to Ford, Kissinger and many US Congressmen who have supported it. The inhumanity of the present regime does not come of today. Pak Jung Hi has made repeated solemn promises not to run for presidency since May 16, 1961. He announced again he would not run for a third term when he gave his campaign pledges at the time of the 1967 election. In the 1971 presidential election he stressed his last candidacy, and then he drove tanks to frame up a Revitalization Constitution. Now we will be no more fooled.

—We resolutely and totally negate the Revitalization Constitution rigged up under the protection of tanks and troops.

—In order to open a new phase in the history of the nation, breaking the silence before a storm, the movement for the restoration of democracy, raising high the torch of justice, freedom and truth at the foot of Mt. Kwanak, resolves as follows:

1. Repeal the Revitalization Constitution!
2. We oppose the revitalization system and dictatorship!
3. Abolish Emergency Decree No. 9!
4. Investigate the case of contribution to the US Congress!

December 8, 1976

DECLARATION, PLATFORM, RESOLUTION AND SLOGANS OF THE “MINTU”

This declaration was issued on handbills by the “National Committee for Democratic Struggle” (“MINTU”), an anti-fascist democratic struggle organization embracing people of various strata in south Korea together with its “platform,” “resolutions” and “slogans for struggle,” upon proclaiming its formation. (10,000 bills were distributed in Seoul that day.)

Today the one-man tyranny of Pak Jung Hi is ravaging our land and strangling our people by way of repressing freedom and civil rights, threatening peace and taking away the right to live while protecting the comprador capitalists, following intelligence and torture politics and making the army and police his own.

This tyrant, the Hitler of Asia and Shih Huang Ti of the 20th century, has turned to the Yusin Constitution designed to keep him in power for good, to the new village movement, to the emergency measures and bogus trials, and even to bribery diplomacy, in an attempt to whitewash his crimes.

As a result, the mountains and rivers of this beautiful land have been reduced to prison walls and trenches to keep the overwhelming majority of the famished people in a hell, while the tyrant and a hand-

ful of anti-democratic reptile elements under his wing are living in a **paradise**.

The people believe no longer his anti-corruption policy which catches pilferers only and shields their bosses, his economic development plan which increases only the foreign bank accounts of the privileged entrepreneurs, and his ploy, national defense policy and argument about national reunification which are all aimed to keep his regime safe.

Thus the people who have exercised their patience with ill feelings are valorously rising up at the sound of the reveille for the anti-dictatorship struggle to put a period to the whole of the anti-democratic, anti-historic and anti-national tyranny.

Here we, responding to the call of the people of various strata, have formed the "National Committee for Democratic Struggle" ("MINTU" in a simple form) and sworn to fight indefinitely against the one-man tyranny of Pak Jung Hi. This we solemnly declare at home and abroad.

All the south Koreans at home and abroad, unite under the banner of "MINTU" and rise up to overthrow the one-man tyranny of Pak Jung Hi!

Platform

1. To rally all the democratic forces of the south Korean people, do away with the one-man tyranny of Pak Jung Hi and realize a broad democracy which defends the genuine interests of the people;
2. To totally reform the monopolistic economic struc-

- ture of financial magnates who are dependent on foreigners, build a national, independent, self-supporting economy, develop agriculture and industry proportionately and improve the people's life;
3. To enforce democratic, national independent education which will help realize sex equality and abolish provincialism, and to carry forward and develop national culture;
 4. To repudiate army's involvement in politics, and its conversion into a political tool, make the army faithful to its own duties and democratize the barracks life;
 5. To check the flunkeyist diplomacy of all shades and promote the peaceful reunification of the country.

Resolutions

1. We fight without reserve for overthrowing the one-man tyranny of Pak Jung Hi. To fulfil this sacred task we reject every form of sectarianism and opportunism and form the line of the one and only anti-dictatorship struggle both in name and reality.
2. We welcome as our comrades all the fighters equipped with the idea of anti-dictatorship and democracy, regardless of their nationality, sex, age, political party or group, religious faith, occupation and past records, and protect them and fight in unity with them.
3. We, guided by justice and humanity, defend peace

and human rights and behave fairly from a national independent stand.

Slogans

1. Drive out Pak Jung Hil
2. Don't tremble before the fixed bayonets!
3. The burden of swelling taxation would kill us!
4. Let's unite around the "MINTU" and carry out the democratic revolution!

January 18, 1977

(From the *New Korea Times*, a south Korean newspaper in Canada, dated February 26, 1977.)

PLEASE RELIEVE US

Rim In Yong

Wife of Chon Chang Il, a Victim
of the Case of the People's Revolutionary Party

This is a written appeal of Rim In Yong, wife of Chon Chang Il now detained in the "Chonju Prison" as a participant in the case of the People's Revolutionary Party. On April 9, 1975 the puppet clique ruthlessly murdered eight persons implicated in the PRP case and inflicted heavy penalty upon the rest, including penal servitude

for life. The appeal reads:

I am member of a pitiful family related to the People's Revolutionary Party which was grievously wronged under the dictatorial regime of south Korea.

This PRP case is a most typical vicious case of the infringement upon the human rights in south Korea.

1. Now the surviving people of the PRP bear none of the evidences that they breached the law of this country.

2. They were put to tortures. Tortures of every description for 40 days. Each fainted ten times and came round.

3. They were court-martialled in camera. The records of their trials were all reversed.

Please help these PRP people to face a new trial. Reverend Ogle and Father Sinnott were banished on account of their assertion that the PRP was a fabrication.

On the very same account Mr. Kim Ji Ha is suffering in prison. In court he is still now insisting: "I'm sure that the PRP is a fabrication."

Many lawyers say with one voice that the PRP is a forged Party. But they refrain from voicing it openly in fear of their own imprisonment.

If the government had not cooked up the PRP case, why then doesn't it stage a public trial which is so eagerly wanted by the families of the victims and requested by many personages?

When a defendant referred to tortures he had suffered in the presence of scores of foreign journalists and personages of all circles in south Korea, public

prosecutor Mun Ho Chol threatened him like at a military tribunal with the word: "You seem to have had not so good a lick. Now you shall be flogged more." Under such circumstances, please help them to face a public trial without fail.

I believe that if there is a strong public demand for their public trial the government will release them without staging a trial since it would only bring its own crimes to light.

I pray to God that you will render great help to these nameless, powerless pitiful people who are shedding salt tears and groaning in distress.

February 1977

(From *Minjok Sibô* dated March 11, 1977.)

VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN CHONJU PRISON

Rim In Yong

Wife of Chon Chang Il, a Victim of the Case of the People's Revolutionary Party

This is an appeal written in February 1977 by Rim In Yong, wife of Chon Chang Il implicated in the PRP case, exposing the puppet clique's infringement upon human rights. It reads:

My husband is now in solitary confinement in the Chonju Prison which is suggestive of a hell.

He is receiving a formidable punishment which baffles human imagination. His life is shortening and his blood is drying every moment. How can man inflict such penalty on man?

1. Is that a penalty inflicted upon him because he has not written his conversion? But how can he write it when he is not a PRP member and Communist? My husband said that he had never committed that crime. There is no evidence. Can there be a criminal with no evidence of any offense? If only there is an evidence I should admit his crime. If they continue to inflict a mental torture upon my husband and dry his blood, trying doggedly to get his written conversion, I have no option but to declare that he is not a PRP member, even if I have to die for this.
2. And why is his cell not lighted by electricity? He is locked up day and night in a dark tiny cell built of bricks, with the floor space of half a *pyong*, where he can barely lie down with folded arms. It has no window to let sunbeams in. It has no electric light either. Is this what the prison cell should be like? How is it possible for a man to put another man to such a cruel torture?
3. This is not all. A radio speaker is installed in the dark cell where he is dying to see the light, unable to read. It jabbars all day long. Evidently it is intended to crack his brains.
4. It is really a cruel torture. Such a harsh punishment on a jailed person surpasses all human im-

agination. Prisoners are allowed to meet their families once a month, some as long as an hour and others only five minutes. Is it fair? Four years have passed since my husband was thrown behind bars. Once a month I would prepare money to travel to Chonju from Seoul and manage to meet him only five minutes. Pressed for time and restless, I would forget what I had wanted to tell to him, and have to leave the place. Once, one year after his imprisonment, I took to him the little ones who jumped for joy at the thought of meeting their papa. That time too, we met him only five minutes. We tried hard to see him closely with a glassed-in and netted window in-between. He was dragged off by the warder even before he could bring out a word to the children. He turned his head in his effort to look at them again. All these scenes set me afire with burning indignation and a resolve to fight to the bitter end.

- 5.
6. The space provided for him to take five-minute exercise is two *pyong*, I heard. It is no more than the floor space of a tiny room. How can he take exercise there? It will only enable him to dust himself and stare at the sky. Should a man, locked up for four years, be treated like this? Isn't it too much for him to suffer such a cruel punishment? Shouldn't he be allowed to take exercise for the limbs two hours a day at least on a spacious ground?
7. Why don't they meet his wish to read mass? Can't they give the prisoners even the freedom of re-

ligion? Why don't they allow the priest in charge of the prison to meet jailbirds?

I believe the prisoners must be bearing many other punishments still unknown to me. I have barely heard all these from my imprisoned husband who greatly hesitated to tell them as if it would bring a still heavier punishment upon him.

What have they got b̀y so cruelly punishing and torturing him drying his blood?

Do they want to wrest a written conversion out of him? Vexed and mortified to excess, I don't feel like living. I had better be dead. Kill me! Take all my family and kill them!

I don't want to stay alive in this cursed world where people are arrested at random and made a political scapegoat, where punishments of every description are inflicted upon the prisoners to force them to admit their crimes. Please kill our family all at once, not by way of drying up their blood.

February 1977

(From the overseas newspaper *Han-minbo* dated April 1, 1977.)

APRIL DECLARATION

The Emergency General Meeting of Seoul University Students

This declaration is put in the leaflet which was issued in the name of the emergency general meeting of Seoul University students and scattered by over 50 students on the campus of the Art College of the University.

Observing the present internal situation, we cannot fail to feel an imminent crisis.

Sixteen years have already passed since power was seized by the present rulers who have checked the advance of national history and let our nation go against the stream of world history. What is the reality of today to which they have led us under the pretext of nationalism and security?

On the campus only the government-controlled Student Defence League functions as a puppet of the authorities which has nothing to do with the general will of the students. The freedom of speech is stamped out, so the issue of newspapers and bulletins and art circle activities on the campus are controlled. In the universities special agents are posted, those students crying for the democratization of campus are expelled, and professors have lost the image of critical, practical intellectuals and degraded themselves into weak and pale men of functional knowledge, concerned about the preservation of their professorship.

Is this the creation of an academic atmosphere advocated so loudly by the authorities?

Politically, they have detained democratic figures of various strata aspiring after democratization, wielding such evil laws as the Revitalization Constitution, declaration of emergency state and emergency measures, and made a mockery of the people, fabri-

cating rumours. In such situation, the Oppositions have failed to set a true goal of struggle as their policy; the press and religious circles have lost their original functions and changed into a lady-in-waiting of the power; the National Assembly and the judiciary have been deprived of their independence; and the Assembly Hall and the court have also turned into a masterless place of puppet-show. Is this the nature of the south Korean-type democracy so much vaunted by them?

Socially, sham patriotic organizations such as the "national salvation service corps" and the "committee for taking measures to meet the situation" are reversing the trend of historic development by distorting what the people should correctly understand and feel.

Economically, the growth first policy is glorified, but the workers, peasants, fishermen, urban paupers, petty traders, and lower-level officials are in a threat to their right to live as man. Behind the statistics falsely prepared from a political consideration lies the fact that the real income of the people is on the decrease and their purchasing power has fallen off. The economy is on the verge of bankruptcy owing to the dual limping, one-sided character of industrial structure, the failure of the agricultural policy, the preferential financing for special enterprises and the ruin of small and middle enterprises, skyrocketing prices, and the mounting army of unemployment. The authorities are trying to tide over this economic crisis with foreign loans and direct foreign investments. To this end, they have instituted the "Law of Special

Measures on National Defence" to deprive the workers of their right to collective bargaining and their right to collective action (the right to strike). For whom on earth is this economic growth? Is this the independent economy so much croaked about by them?

Japan's economic domination over south Korea through the vertical division of labour made in the name of economic cooperation has brought about its political subjugation, and the Tokdo Island problem which had been left in obscurity at the time of the south Korea-Japan talks in 1965 has now presented itself as a serious question. Historically, Tokdo Island is our territory within our sovereignty. The Japanese side intrudes into the territorial air of Tokdo Island without due notice and claims our evacuation from it. These aggressive claim and territorial air intrusion are not simple political and military problems, but an infringement upon the sovereignty of our nation. Japan has gone so far as to gain political predominance by dint of its economic predominance and encroach upon our territory.

Who dare say this is not the revival of the last 36-year long aggression of Japanese imperialism? Ah! Is the conscience of our nation dead? Who is it that has made our plight so miserable as this?

Blood-boiling young fellow students!

What should we think and how should we act at this moment?

Misguided by distorted logic, haven't we so far been engrossed in self-justification? April has come round when the late Comrade Kim Sang Jin who

loved and cried for democracy sacrificed his youth. April when many of our fellow students resolutely rose in resistance. Should we talk simply about the bygone stories in this April? Should we keep silence again? Here is our resolution.

RESOLUTION

1. Disorganize the Students Defence League which has lost support from all the students and become government-patronized, and restore the Students Association and the Students Committee.

2. Guarantee the freedom of speech of the students and stop suppression of the issue of bulletins and art circle activities at universities.

3. University professors must be ashamed of being weak intellectuals and build up their image as practical intellectuals capable of boldly criticizing the contradictions of reality.

4. The Revitalization Constitution and emergency measures are evil laws and the claim for their revision affords no ground for guiltiness.

5. Release the detained students and democrats immediately and unconditionally and get them reinstated in 1977, the "Year of Release of Conscientious Offenders" throughout the world.

6. Conduct direct presidential election and restrict reelection according to the will of the entire people.

7. The legislative and judicial bodies must restore the general principles of separation of three powers of government and regain their rights as assembly-

men and judicial officers.

8. The New Democratic Party must criticize its delegate Li Chol Sung for his psychotic testimony abroad and show its original nature as a non-government party before the people aspiring to the restoration of democracy.

9. Sham public organizations must examine themselves and look squarely at what the reality needs.

10. The government must apologize to the people for Pak Dong Son's bribery scandal towards the United States and give up its submissive diplomatic posture towards Japan in regard to the Tokdo Island problem.

11. The United States must desist from the pragmatic diplomacy centering on its own interests and stop its discriminative moral diplomacy.

12. The government must increase the real income of the working masses, peasants and small income earners and ensure their right to existence.

13. Abolish the policy of sacrificing small and middle enterprises to comprador enterprises and special big enterprises of neo-colonialism, and repeal the "Law of Special Measures on National Defence" designed to suppress the labour movement.

April 12, 1977

(April 12, 1977 dispatch of Japanese
Jiji Press from Seoul)

DECLARATION OF ORDEALS

Hanguk Theological Seminary

This declaration (gist) was announced by five professors and over 150 students of the Hanguk Theological Seminary after having a prayer meeting for the Easter week" in the chapel of the seminary.

That day more than 200 mimeographed copies of the declaration were distributed to the participants.

1. The Revitalization Constitution instituted in October 5 years ago by coercion and fraudulence and by dint of the bayonet and tanks was a fabrication from the beginning and had nothing in common with the great principles of democracy—the people's power and the separation of three powers of government. It is an inhuman evil law rare to be seen in history.

2. The emergency measures enacted under the revitalized system are known to the world for their viciousness and brutality. All human rights are repressed under the name of the National Security Law and the Social Security Law. The present regime which is scheming to stay in power by suppressing human rights and keeping its dictatorial system has squandered state funds for its security and maintenance in buying off important figures of the US and

Japan, giving rise to Pak Dong Son and other bribery scandals. It has thus drawn the fire of the world public and become an international orphan. Meanwhile, it has gagged the home press and is scheming to establish diplomatic relations with other fascist states where human rights are violated and build up an international "force of evils."

3. The diplomacy of the present regime is a humiliation diplomacy, and its policy of north-south unification is a policy of permanent territorial division, instead of the national unification aspired for by the nation. We reaffirm that democratic peaceful unification is the immediate goal of the nation.

4. The national economy is in dire distress due to price rise and taxation. The import of Japan's pollution industry and the rearing of comprador capital have reduced the country to a garbage of the world.

5. Campus has been converted into a political organization because of the campus investigation, illegal administrative measures against students, gag on campus press and the fabrication of a bogus organization called the Student Defence League.

6. The suppression of religious meetings has gone to the extremes. Unimaginable suppression is practiced such as interference in the contents of prayers, tailing after religionists, house arrest, hauling off without warrant and wiretapping.

7. Starting a long arduous march bearing our cross as dictated by God, we demand as follows:

(1) Let the present regime take responsibility for grave state of affairs and go out of office!

(2) Establish a government elected according

to the democratic procedure and a democratic administration based on the separation of three powers of government!

(3) Reform the administration of education in order to establish genuine education and view of value!

(4) Promote the welfare of the nation by rearing national capital and removing comprador capital, and redistribute the income fairly!

(5) Let all the Christians concentrate every effort on improving the current state of affairs!

April 7, 1977

(UPI dispatch from Seoul on April 7, 1977)

EMERGENCY DECLARATION OF RESOLUTION FOR NATIONAL SALVATION

An Emergency Meeting of the Students for National Salvation at the Engineering College of Seoul University

This is a declaration carried in a leaflet issued in the name of the emergency meeting of the students for national salvation at the Engineering College of Seoul University; a great number of its copies were scattered in

the compound of the college that day. The declaration reads:

More than 2,000 fellow students of the Seoul Engineering College! Our blood-boiling fellow students who, taking over the April 19 spirit, have never lost the posture of criticism as free individual persons in the struggle for democratization and national salvation! Our fellow students who have been devoting themselves to the realization of social justice, making an appeal to society for the outcry of our parents and brothers for life!

Look! Where's gone that vitality in this society?

This society has fallen a prey to continuous defeatism in the crucible of horrible terror and is kneeling down in powerlessness, suffering the shame of indolence and even capitulation.

How can we bear this any longer? How can we keep silence any longer? Oh! Seeing the dawn of a new day before our brilliant national history, we have at last risen resolutely, holding high a torch in this disturbed reality.

That dictatorial group no sooner framed the revitalized system by dint of tanks to maintain their mean lives than employed emergency measures, a tool for rigging up political offenders, to strangle us one by one.

They have mercilessly jailed as "dissidents" our elders who felt constant anguish at the gap between truth and reality in the ivory tower and devoted themselves to filling it up, and cruelly tortured as "anti-state socialists" our elders who rose in a bloody

resistance to bring charge against the threat to the life of the nation and to the people's right to live. Moreover, they have speedily changed prominent figures of various strata into hounds for maintenance of their dictatorial regime through appeasement and blackmail and turned the sacred campus into a place of training puppets in the plausible name of reappointment of professors.

On March 1st last year they imprisoned the national democrats who had cried for the realization of justice as a confession made out of their March First spirit and national patriotism. Where are those sound students, professors, press men and religionists gone? Why are only toadies and sly dogs seen swaggering about?

Their hands of violence have reached the campuses to root out the autonomy of the students and degrade the campus into a vocational training centre by way of establishing such a puppet structure as the Student Defence League. Moreover, they have militarized the campuses through the intensified military drill and training and, under the banner of intelligence rule which gives rise to an atmosphere of terror, conducted campus inspection and particularly spread the trend of distrust among the students by winning over some pure-hearted students with money or threat.

True, freedom and peace are inseparable. In any country, where the people's wishes for peace are stamped out for the interests of the minority of privileged circles, there will be an increasing danger of war. No pretext of security can violate the freedom

and rights of the people. This is just the focal point of the problem concerning the human rights raised in the world and a persistent struggle is being waged for its solution. Nevertheless, the dictatorial group brand the just voices of the people as false rumours and make the people shudder and shrink by robbing them of their freedom of speech and intensifying check-ups and reference. Genuine democratic government is practiced by way of giving ear to the voices of the people. In spite of it, the patriarchal group advocating a south Korean-typed democracy have turned all opposition parties in a position to take a critical, square view at the government into their valets by force.

In these gloomy circumstances government officials and policemen have turned to robots and are getting corrupt to the core through such illicit cases as approval of textbooks, evasion of taxes and introduction of luxuriant furniture under the guise of reform. Such illegal practices and corruption go beyond the internal bounds. The whole world knows the overseas bribery scandals including the Pak Dong Son case practiced to maintain power by currying favour with assemblymen of the United States and Japan. Nevertheless, the cunning dictatorial group do not mean to examine these scandals closely, but are rather mocking the popular masses by staging fraudulent farces. While taking it as easy as to have their meals to flout the south Korean people this horde of swindlers even fail to mete out due punishment to the Japs who illegally intruded into Tokdo Island, a part of the Korean territory, claiming it as their own. They

are rather going to allow the Japs to turn the Korean peninsula into a garbage can for used oil. This scheme is designed to assist only the wicked comprador entrepreneurs subsisting on the blood of the people and based on the logic of the anti-national group who think everything is all right if only their own interests are met, even if our economy is dependent on Japan.

As a result, the south Korean economy under the revitalized system is being gradually deteriorated. The gulf between the poor and the rich has been widened, and the popular masses threatened with a loss of their right to existence due to the extreme price hike and heavy tax burden. And the working people are deprived of the three rights of labour and driven hard for a low-paid, long-hour labour.

Ah! What has given rise to this despotism? Who is it that has thrown the destiny of the south Korean people into an abyss of darkness? Fellow students! Now is the time when we can save the destiny of the whole nation. We, students of the Seoul Engineering College, in the name of the 30 million south Korean people, put the following demands and determination against the accursed revitalized system and the dictatorial group trying to keep it.

OUR DEMANDS

1. Administrator, admit the invalidity and brutality of the Revitalization Constitution and emergency measures and immediately abrogate them.

2. Release at once all the detained patriotic students and democrats, and reinstate all the expelled students, and the judiciary must have a clear conscience and admit the illegality of the judgement of the Myongdong case.

3. Thoroughly examine all the acts of suppressing human rights on the plea of security and immediately return all the basic rights including the freedom of speech to the people.

4. Abandon the submissive diplomacy and crush Japan's invasion of Tokdo Island at once in the name of the 30 million south Korean nation and thoroughly punish all the wicked comprador enterprises coupled with Japanese enterprises.

5. Immediately reveal the truth about the case of offering bribes to assemblymen of the United States and Japan and wait for the people's judgement.

6. Release the masses of the people of the harsh sufferings from price hike and tax burden and recognize the proper rights of the working people, thereby setting them free from the danger of losing their right to existence due to low wages.

7. Stop at once the campus inspection of every hue, dissolve the Student Defence League and restore the students' autonomy.

OUR DETERMINATION

1. We are confident that our action represents the urgent requirement of the fellow students of the whole country and the entire south Korean people.

2. Our action has not been influenced by the doctrines of any organizations and parties and we will definitely prevent any possibility of it in future, too.

3. Our action does not need to compromise in any way and we are determined to continue it to the last one man and to the last moment.

April 11, 1977

(April 11, 1977 dispatch of *Jiji Press*
from Seoul)

FOR CHARTER OF DEMOCRACY AND NATIONAL SALVATION

Headquarters for the Promotion of the Signature-
collecting Campaign for Charter of Democracy
and National Salvation

*This is a material issued on April 15, 1977 with the
formation of the "Headquarters for the Promotion of the
Signature-collecting Campaign for Charter of Democracy
and National Salvation."*

1. The Charter of Democracy and National Salvation is convinced that the sincere efforts for the realization of democracy, the sovereignty of the nation and the peaceful reunification of the country are the only way to save the nation, and provides a com-

munity of all the people who are determined to fight to abolish the revitalized system standing in the way of those efforts.

In this sense, we are one with the personages who participated in the March 1st Declaration for Democracy and National Salvation issued by the National Council for the Restoration of Democracy and the January 23 Wonju Declaration, one with the youth students, intellectuals, religionists and all the other persons fighting against the revitalized system, one with all the nameless masses who expressed their nation-wide desire for democracy in the spring of 1975 by putting in encouraging advertisements in *Tonga Ilbo*, and one with the overseas compatriots and all the friends of the world who have extended solidarity with the struggles waged in our homeland.

2. Follows the view of the Charter of Democracy and National Salvation on the problem of security:

As long as the revitalized system exists, no peace and security can be ensured on the Korean peninsula. The revitalized system is a system to perpetuate dictatorship, violation of human rights, corruption and privilege; accordingly, it is a system to deepen the split and confrontation between the government and the people and its international isolation; it is, therefore, a system which has no other way but to aggravate tension without letup between the north and the south for its own existence, inspire hostile consciousness between them and create an atmosphere of war.

The only way for peace in the Korean peninsula

is to secure a genuine people's unity and a trust in our social system in and out of the country by realizing democracy widely reflecting the true will and interests of the people from all walks of life and, on this basis, to stop the armament expansion policy and mutual hostility incurring a national self-destruction and promote an earnest dialogue for grand national unity and amicable settlement on the basis of the respect of the north and south Korean people for their respective social systems.

3. The Charter of Democracy and National Salvation demands the fundamental and complete democratic reform of domestic administration involving the unconditional abolition of the revitalized system and the complete removal of all unfair restrictions on basic human rights.

(1) Unless the revitalized system is abolished, a temporary removal of the emergency measures or any other temporizing policies of appeasement cannot meet the burning desire of the people for democracy, and all the forces including the present leadership of the New Democratic Party, which are seeking after submission and parasitism under the revitalized system, putting up such deceptive slogans as "reform with participation" and "moderate merger," will not escape punishment by history as an accomplice of the revitalized dictatorship.

(2) The Charter of Democracy and National Salvation demands the "complete restoration of human rights for all political offenders."

(a) All the persons who were arrested or for-

cibly detained by such laws announced arbitrarily by the revitalized system for the suppression of human rights as the emergency measures, the Social Security Law and the Law on Special Measure for National Defence, all the prisoners who were arrested without warrant, sentenced on false criminal charges due to cruel torture or punished without any just procedure of public trial, all the imprisoned persons implicated in the students movement, the labour movement and the religious functions, and all those who were imprisoned simply on account of expressing their ideological faith and conscience, should be released at once, and the political escapers who are chased by the investigation organs on this account be provided with the liberty of returning home safely.

(b) All the political trials held under these circumstances since the May 16 military coup should be nullified.

(c) The Social Security Law must be abolished as an anachronistic law taking away human rights, which, in the name of a measure for maintenance of public peace, legalizes residential control over political offenders and ex-convicts, and their arrest without warrant and life house confinement without trial.

(d) An end must be put to all the legal, institutional and actual persecutions of political offenders, ex-convicts and political dissidents—deprivation of official position, restriction of employment, restriction of civil rights, and prohi-

bition of foreign travel. The students, professors, judges, and journalists who were expelled from campuses or workplaces must be made to come back immediately to their former positions or universities.

(3) Today torture is universally applied in the investigation of all suspects from theft and robbery to political offense. And political investigation and control are not confined to the following, wiretapping, abduction and house arrest of the political dissidents on the government's blacklist and their families and friends, but engulf the entire people in fear, shrink and unrest through the watchful secret agents posted in various public circles, frequent street check-ups and through the national mobilization machinery such as the residential sub-unit, the Civil Defence Corps, the Homeland Reserve Army and the Student Defence League.

We insist that all this suppression be thoroughly removed and a radical measure to end this rule of terror and intelligence be taken.

(4) The press organs, schools, churches and courts which must be the bulwarks of freedom and human rights are placed under the complete control and interference of power to eclipse every truth, turn injustice into justice and give the calloused, oppressed people no place to complain of their pains to.

All the legal and actual censorship over the press must be removed, all the hands of intelligence stretched to the campuses and churches withdrawn, and

the present system of judicial appointment whereby the courts are staffed with servants of power abolished.

(5) For the nation's right to live we hold that the government should first of all liquidate the privileged economy which has deepened social inequality on the basis of heavy taxation, inflation, low wage and low grain price, and fully provide the people in all walks of life with the right to say, unite and act to defend their own rights and interests.

It must abolish the National Security Law, return the three rights of labour to the workers, stop all its suppression of the labour movement instead of making such a kind commitment as to clear away low wages for the workers.

Instead of propagating the new village movement to the peasants, it must recognize their right to independent movement against the arrogance of agricultural cooperatives, unlawful seizure of land and pollution industry and restore the agricultural cooperatives to the hands of the peasants.

The whole suppressive machinery which mass-produces "unlucky neighbours" among the people must be reformed.

(6) The Charter of Democracy and National Salvation does not believe in the deceptive "reform of general administrative affairs of the state" whereby a big corruption destroys a small one and a big injustice punishes a small one. What the people want is that the unjust and corrupt practices of the highest power elites be brought under their inspection and criticism to be closely examined and liquidated.

4. The truth does not win of its own accord. Its victory is possible only when the strength and act of its believers overpower its opponents. We do not share the illusion that the victory of democracy can be brought merely by the policies of foreign countries on human rights or by some sheets of statements issued by a few figures.

In order to guarantee the sure victory of democracy it is necessary to launch a nation-wide democratization struggle involving the workers, peasants, salary earners, middle and small traders and industrialists, public officials, students, intellectuals and religionists and form a National Democratic Union for putting this struggle under a comprehensive, concrete program of action.

However, we have a great deal of limitations and difficulties to overcome before we reach it. At the present stage, to begin with, every citizen, group or individual must take a resolute and positive action for democracy with their own decision, originality and responsibility, and this will afford the key to the democratic movement of our country.

The mission of the Charter of Democracy and National Salvation is to make the people through this action promise to join in the National Democratic Union. Therefore, we ask all the signers to accept the following duties as their own and put them into practice at once.

(1) To impart one's faith in democracy to all people around him.

(2) To organize voluntary civil action for democracy in cooperation with the surrounding comrades

and personages and make an effort to develop it into a groundwork for the National Democratic Union.

(3) To give maximum assistance to the distribution of propaganda materials published for democracy and national salvation and attend all meetings planned for democracy without fail as far as circumstances permit.

(4) To faithfully meet other demands of the Community for the Charter of Democracy and National Salvation.

The Community will fully support these righteous acts of the signers and protest in unity against suppression.

That the numerous individuals or groups that have been dispersed and isolated, deprived of everything human and having their ardent desire for democracy frustrated by the revitalized system should break silence, rise and advance together for the National Democratic Union and the victory of democracy, encouraging, supporting and helping each other through action within the Community—this is the real aim of the Charter of Democracy and National Salvation.

Long live democracy!

Long live the Charter of Democracy and National Salvation!

April 15, 1977

(From *Minjok Sibô* dated May 21, 1977)

TO THE DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE

We are not politicians, and so we have no lust for positions or power. We only expound sincerely our unanimous views to the people at home and abroad after having an opportunity of frankly discussing how to overcome the difficulties of the present and future of this country.

We sincerely hope that we could share our will with many democratic patriots by letting this intention of ours be known well to the people.

1. The so-called revitalized system must be abolished.

In view of the course of its establishment the so-called revitalized system is invalid and unrecognizable. The present regime set up the revitalized system on the pretext of achieving peaceful reunification at first, but now it alleges that the revitalized system is inevitable because of hostile confrontation between the north and the south. It is a system full of deceit and fiction and a system designed to infinitely absolutize and idolize one-man authority. To put it in a nutshell, it is a system of corruption and privilege going against democracy, the nation and the people's life. What it has brought is not national harmony, but only split and discord within the people and isolation and scorn in the international relations.

Now we stand at a point of time when we need

an epochal turn for democracy more urgently than ever before. This is not a matter of a regime but a vital question related to the country and the nation. This will be a year of victory for our democracy. This is the hope and determination of the patriotic, democratic people greeting the New Year.

2. The emergency measures must be abrogated and all the conscientious criminals released immediately and unconditionally.

The absolute authority of the individual and its concrete substance, the emergency measures, must be removed. The existence of the emergency measures proves to be a virus suppressing the creativity of the people and damaging and hurting the might and prestige of the country which ought to be strengthened and heightened by the voluntary efforts of the people. All the undemocratic evil laws and the laws for suppression of human rights, including the emergency measures, must be abolished or amended, and the institutional machinery for suppressing the basic human rights of the people dissolved. The personages detained or imprisoned according to the emergency measures must be released immediately without condition, and all the conscientious criminals and the prisoners related to the working people's movements set free, irrespective of the laws whereby they were arrested. A retrial of those implicated in the People's Revolutionary Party case must be held openly. The professors, judges, students and journalists who were expelled from their work places and schools as they had behaved according to conscience must be allowed to come back to their former posi-

tions at once. The freedoms of campus, religion, expression, the press, assembly and association must be restored.

3. Diplomatic relations should be reestablished in the direction of contributing to the common good of mankind.

The independence of the nation and the sovereignty of the country must be protected in keeping with the common good of mankind. The Pak Dong Son case must be solved with universal morality as a standard. Diplomatic relations with other countries must be established on the principle of a good neighbour relationship as an open diplomacy based upon the agreement of the people, instead of a closed-door diplomacy.

We strongly demand the present government to do away with its humiliating, low-kneed tie-up with the government of the Liberal Democratic Party of Japan and Japanese enterprises. We see clearly the fact that in order to end the state of international isolation caused by the internal and external misrule and misconduct of the present government, it is necessary to readjust the internal and external orders without a moment's delay.

4. The right to existence of the working people must be guaranteed and the three rights of labour provided for them.

The government is pushing a florid propaganda to the effect that the amount of export has reached ten billion dollars. But how much have the living standards of the workers, salary earners, peasants and fishermen been improved? Economic growth is

meaningless if its results are not equally distributed to all people and all sections to improve the people's living standards. There must be a bold turnabout in the economic policy.

The government finds the way for economic growth in its low wage policy and, for this, intensifies its legal and institutional policy of suppression against the three rights of labour. The three rights of labour must be granted to the working people. The right to existence which provides a real human life for the working people must be recognized on all accounts. We pay attention to the reality where trade unions fail to be formed at big enterprises and at enterprises run by financial cliques. We also give deep attention to the heavy taxation which is beyond the people's capacity for payment and to the deprivation of the urban paupers' right to existence.

5. Elections under the present system cannot be recognized.

All of the elections under the current system are nothing but a farce to rationalize this system and produce best men for the dictator. We are well aware that an election held under the present system and law is a formal show having nothing to do with democracy. What meaning can an election under the Revitalization Constitution have when the freedom of speech is crushed? All the sound-minded people cannot tolerate any election under the current system which only means helping in the maintenance of the dictatorial system. Political parties and politicians aspiring after freedom and democracy should naturally be united to reject such election, and the peo-

ple loving democracy and the country should mobilize all strength and organization to deny it.

We sincerely hope that all the people who love freedom, peace and justice will confirm their belief in democracy, carrying a patriotic intention from their own stand, and thus achieve a grand unity of the democratic people to advance together along the road to democracy.

Now we are about to take the first step forward.

January 19, 1978

Yun Bo Son, Chong Gu Yong, Ham Sok
Hon, Chi Hak Sun, Pak Hyong Gyu,
Cho Hwa Sun, Chon Gwan U

FOR THE FREEDOM OF ANTI- AUTHORITARIAN CONSCIENCE

—Appeal of South Korean Conscientious Offenders and
Their Families—

According to the June 1977 issue of the Japanese politico-theoretical magazine Sekai, the families of defendants involved in the case of the March 1st Declaration for Democracy and National Salvation and all other conscientious offenders had a Christian prayer meeting on April 1 in Seoul and proclaimed a "declaration" in the name of the "meeting of the conscientious offenders and their families." It is said that the "declaration" succeeded to and developed the "statement" issued on March 1 by

the families of those implicated in the March 1st Declaration case on the occasion of the first anniversary of its publication. This "declaration" attracted special attention because the families of those accused of participating in the March 1st Declaration case voiced their fresh resolution of struggle this time jointly with the "Association of Families of the Arrested" (Many are students' and some are the families of those involved in the case of the "People's Revolutionary Party.") which had been formed with the families of those accused of being involved in the case of the "National Federation of Democratic Youth and Students" on January 16, 1975. This can be said to be an epochal event.

Firmly insisting that "the era has already passed when the human conscience could be incriminated," the "declaration" denounced various persecutions suffered by the political, thought, and conscientious offenders and their families and took an oath to unite as one in the spirit that the whole members are in one family, regarding the persecution of one member as that of the whole "group" without fearing the unreasonable oppression of power. This shows that the defendants' families who have risen up under the heels of the Pak regime are knitting themselves closer in their struggle even under harsher repression.

The letter of the "South Korean Association of Families of the Conscientious Offenders," which closes this article was made public on March 22 before the publication of the declaration. It was prepared in the stage of arranging the "meeting of the conscientious offenders and their families" on March 17.

DECLARATION

Now we definitely declare towards the whole world.

The era has already passed when the human conscience could be incriminated. Our torch lighting the human dignity will never die out before chasing away all the dark sorrows, grudges and sufferings overshadowing this age, before burning off all the black claws of the tyrant repressing the human conscience, by rallying all the freedom- and justice-loving minds.

We will fully expose all sorts of political persecution we and our families are suffering and will suffer in the future too.

Freedom to our sons and daughters, to our husbands!

Stop every persecution of the political dissidents!

Long live the freedom of anti-authoritarian conscience!

Long live democracy!

April 1, 1977

The attendants of the "Meeting of the
Conscientious Offenders and Their Families"

THE OUTLINE OF THE ACTUAL STATE OF SOUTH KOREAN CONSCIENTIOUS OFFENDERS

PREAMBLE: THE COURSE OF MAKING UP A CONSCIENTIOUS OFFENDER

Human dignity is ensured when all are able to

form their own conscience, ideology, creed and faith freely, enjoy them freely and express them freely. This very freedom of human conscience is the most fundamental freedom ensuring the human rights and liberty in all spheres of politics, economy, society and culture; it also forms the kernel of democracy which checks the absolutization of power and respects individuality, dissidence, criticism and the principle of national sovereignty. Nevertheless, the political power of this land has incriminated all the views and creeds opposed to it, ceaselessly sought for, ferreted out and chased after those who cherished or expressed those views and creeds, and suppressed and persecuted them in various forms and on various charges in an effort to perpetuate its dictatorship. Such persecution of the conscientious offenders facilitated the shrinkage of conscience and civil rights, and the absolutization and corruption of power, thereby giving birth to an evil cycle in which the tension between power and the people is aggravated to cause a harsher suppression of the conscientious offenders.

THE REAL STATE OF THE PERSECUTION OF POLITICAL OFFENDERS

1. INVESTIGATION, SURVEILLANCE, SHADOWING, WIRETAPPING AND HOUSE ARREST

The stupendous intelligence and investigation apparatus including the KCIA inspects the moves of the conscientious offenders and supervises the speech and action of political dissidents. Its agents exam-

ine passers-by, walk them off and occasionally break into their houses and search them without warrant. Sometimes they employ telescopic inspection, camouflage themselves for infiltration and appease or intimidate offenders' families. Those who are placed under police protection and surveillance by the Social Security Law are bound to appear at a police station once in every three months at least and inform it of everything—what they have done, whom they have met, what they have talked, where they have been to, and the like.

2. EXPRESSION OF ONE'S INTENTION AND ASSEMBLY HINDERED

Any assembly which is critical of power or liable to be so is an object of violent suspension by power. Even a prayer meeting is held in an encirclement of mobile police, its attendants are dispersed by force or its attendance is hindered.

There is more often than not a case in which an expected attendant is kidnapped or put under house arrest.

3. COERCION, ABDUCTION, ARREST AND THE LIKE

Political dissidents are often forcibly arrested, abducted and detained for days in investigation and intelligence offices. This persecution is intended to gather information or excite terror. In such case a victim is forced to sign a document in which he promises not to tell after the release about his detention and about the persecution he has suffered.

4. TORTURE AND JAILING

Most of those who are expressively critical of power are rounded up without warrant, tortured and persecuted at investigation offices and imprisoned on charges based on false evidences.

At investigation offices, the victims are repeatedly asked the same question and clubbed for each negative reply, kept from sleeping, hung upside down before water pours over their mouths, put to electric torture, forced to get medicinal injections or undergo sadistic torture (in case of a woman), detained for a long time in secret or threatened with danger of mysterious death. Inflicting such tortures on every political dissident, investigators force him:

- a. to admit his being a Communist and his sharing Leftist ideology;
- b. to confess that he has plotted to overthrow the government by violence;
- c. to confess that he has formed or praised an anti-State organization.

5. PERSECUTION IN CONFINEMENT

Typical of such persecution are the delay of a legitimate trial, the forcible demand of confession and torture during prosecution, the prohibition and restriction of meeting with a lawyer or family members, and of reading (even a reading of the Bible in case of Kim Ji Ha), correspondence, physical exercise, washing-up and medical examination.

In case a subject disclaims his confession in the

stage of prosecution, he is transferred back to an investigation office to suffer persecution and torture again. His manner is watched in confinement through a TV device installed in his ward. Most of theailing conscientious offenders are precluded from medical examination and treatment and are not allowed out on bail.

6. PERSECUTION DURING COURT PROCEEDINGS

a. In effect, court trials proceed in camera. Severe are the control of the issue of admission tickets and hearing and the inspection of hearers. And in many cases, mobile policemen and intelligence agents are picketed in and around the court buildings. Pressure is applied on press organs not to give a real account of the trials of conscientious offenders.

b. In most cases, defendants are not allowed to make statements as they wish, and the evidences and witnesses applied for by them are not adopted.

c. Their cases are occasionally submitted to the special courts including the military court, and coercions of every sort are exerted on lawyers.

d. Most verdicts of conviction are based on the spurious confessions which are obtained by dint of torture at investigation offices, transcribed at public procurator's offices and adopted as the unique legal evidences.

e. The whole court proceedings are conducted under the strict watch of the intelligence agents.

f. Power and investigation organs threaten and apply pressure on judges. Even decisions are worked

out on the instruction of investigation organs.

7. SOCIAL SECURITY LAW IS IN FORCE

Sometimes they are arrested without warrant and forcibly detained without day by power. And they are subject to the restriction of residence or placed under police protection and surveillance.

8. PERSECUTION OF POLITICAL HIDEAWAYS AND THEIR FAMILIES

Houses of political hideaways are watched in secret and often searched. Their friends and families are walked off and interrogated now and again. In worst cases they are tortured and detained for a long period. Most of them have to accompany investigators in search of hideouts.

9. EXPULSION FROM SCHOOL, DISMISSAL, RESTRICTION ON EMPLOYMENT AND THE LIKE

Political dissidents are tormented—students are expelled from school and journalists from press organs, judges and professors get the ax, and National Assemblymen are dismissed from membership. Most of the blacklisted are virtually banned from overseas trip.

OUR SEVEN-POINT COMMITMENT (ACTION PROGRAMME)

1. We don't fear the unwarranted persecution by

power and will not show the white feather before it.

2. We will defend the "meeting of the conscientious offenders and their families" in any adversity.
3. We will not wage a campaign for relieving an individual but regard any persecution as that of every member of our meeting.
4. We will do our best to implement our agreed resolutions positively.
5. We will keep the secret of our meeting. We will keep mum when questioned and examined by intelligence or investigation agents.
6. Our whole membership will be united in a spirit that we are one family. We will help and rely on each other like brothers.
7. We will defend our conscience with the declaration of conscience in face of intimidation and torture by the intelligence and investigation agents.

April 1, 1977

"Meeting of the Conscientious Offenders and Their Families"

OUR IMMEDIATE GOALS

Under the present circumstances we put up the following points as our immediate goals:

1. The complete release of all the conscientious

- offenders and the complete restoration of their rights;
2. The nullification of all the court decisions rendered on political trials under the Pak regime;
 3. The suspension of the search for and chase after political stowaways and the guarantee of their free returning home;
 4. The readmission of the expelled students into school and the reinstatement of the dismissed journalists, professors and judges;
 5. The abolition of torture, the punishment of the chief torturer, and the stoppage of all persecution—investigation, inspection, shadowing, wiretapping and the like;
 6. The abolition of the Social Security Law and other security measures against political offenders, and the establishment of a system under which a person is arrested only with warrant;
 7. The fair treatment of the imprisoned conscientious offenders and the guarantee of their right to face a fair trial.

Pursuing the above immediate goals, we will fight until an end is put on this land to such a practice of persecuting a political dissident on the part of power and until the terms, "conscientious offender" and "political offender," die out for good to become a dusty relic of history.

For the sake of our beloved sons and daughters, our husbands, our fathers and our brothers and sis-

ters, we will resolutely push aside all dangers and all temptations.

Long live the freedom of conscience!

OPEN LETTER SENT ON MARCH 1 TO PAK JUNG HI IN DEMAND OF HIS RETIREMENT

Yun Bo Son, Chong Gu Yong,
Ham Sok Hon and others

This "open letter" is called "a letter of advice demanding the retirement of Pak Jung Hi" or "a written request for the resignation of the Pak regime." Overseas compatriots call it the "second declaration for democracy and national salvation." It should have been made public on March 1, the first anniversary of the publication of the "Declaration for Democracy and National Salvation." But on February 28 the house of Ham Sok Hon, the draft maker, was searched and the draft seized by the enemy. So it was opened to the public on March 7 by the "Japan-South Korea Solidarity Liaison Council" which arranged a press interview in Tokyo that day.

The "open letter" was signed by Yun Bo Son, Ham Sok Hon and scores of other personages of political and academic circles and religionists from localities. Their number is greater than that of those who signed the "March 1 Declaration for Democracy and National Salvation." But it is said that to avoid enemy's suppression only part of their names were made public. The "open letter" reads:

Greeting the memorable March First today, we, a few people apprehensive of the future of the country, should like to give you our heartfelt advice on behalf of the entire people.

In your commitment made to the people at the time of the May 16 coup, you said that the army which had been behaving itself prudently rose up at last to save the country out of the crisis.

In the past 16 years you have suppressed the people and exercised dictatorship. As a result, today the fate of our country is hanging just on the "top of a one-hundred-feet pole," nay on a bottomless sheer precipice, while the people are keeping down their agony and wrath with the set teeth, let alone using prudence.

But they are now driven to the limit of endurance. If you stand to your guns any further, there is no knowing what upheaval will break out, throwing the whole country into a primal chaos.

We tell you this with the feeling of flaying Ma Su, a defeated general who was executed by Zhuge Liang, a Chinese statesman in the days of the Three Kingdoms.

SIXTEEN YEARS OF FAILURE

You should admit that your 16-year-long politics is a failure. You mouthed about the reconstruction of the country, but it meant the establishment of a one-man dictatorship. And you raved about modern-

ization, but it only multiplied feudal flunkeyist social evils in the welter of mass material production.

When tall buildings were rising up, the mood of corruption was fostered in their shades. You have had to sharply increase the number of prisons and prisoners, while increasing the statistic figures.

Because you know this, you are crying out for the new village movement and encouraging outdated feudal morals deliberately, aren't you?

But how can you set things right by way of picking leaves of a tree while keeping its roots? Upon cooking up the revitalized system, you insisted that it's enjoying people's support. But the people's will has sunk under the ground to create the morrow's crisis while your faction is increasing. What you have earned from your bribery diplomacy intended to maintain your political power against the people's will is an international contempt. It only has made our innocent people lose face before the world.

How many times have you revised the Constitution? And how many harsh laws have you framed up? It only results in sacrificing the lives of many students and workers. There is no stable social peace. Hence the March First case last year. But you turned a deaf ear to that earnest voice for national salvation, the voice that rose from religious conscience. And you muffled it not to let it reach the people's ear and attempted to inflict heavy penalties upon its makers on a preposterous charge of "instigating" the people to violence and of "plotting" to overthrow the state.

However, the law of justice and humanity was

alive. The true, courageous people of different countries in the world spoke for our blindfolded and gagged people and made the freedom and human rights in south Korea a matter of world concern.

Meanwhile, such political scandals as the case of buying off US Congressmen, the case of buying over Japanese Dietmen during the south Korea-Japan talks and the case of Kim Dae Jung's abduction, which remained a closed book to us, have come to the surface in succession. Everyone thinks heaven is not blind. We have believed that now you should search your heart closely.

We are in no way such mean, narrow-minded persons who remain onlookers to all these cases and feel good to see the government in a quandary.

Your fault is just our fault and your disgrace is just our disgrace. You may feel a pain to hear this. But we tell you it out of the hope that you will awake greatly this time, comfort the people by withdrawing all of your repressive policies and setting free all the conscientious offenders internally, and put the relations with foreign countries on the right orbit externally, thereby restoring our country's prestige and bringing rich blessings to both you and the country.

To our disappointment, however, you are still resorting to harsher suppression, ignoring the earnest inside appeal and outside advice. What's come over you?

You must know there can be no special remedy.

The true heart is the only available remedy. You should boldly admit your blunder and patch your and people's torn conscience.

We tell this really for the sake of both the country and you.

POINTS TO BE REFLECTED ON

We can tell you many things which you should reflect on deeply. But we are going to raise only some important points.

Firstly, you have failed to receive the love and respect of the people. No matter how faithful your subordinates or Party members may be to you, it is not the love and respect of the people. The nameless, ordinary people should be made to share one and the same feeling with you.

Do you know why the people dislike you? It is because you avoid their company, don't treat them with your open heart and seldom try to understand them.

Have you ever worn a smile on your face in front of the people? Have you ever walked your way through the people, waving at them? Have you ever talked with the people to know their sore points? Have you ever been so kind and humble enough to claim yourself to be one member of the people? They say even an absolute monarch had once shared pleasure with his people in the old days. So much fearing, shunning, suspecting and slighting the people, how can you carry on the government properly? The running of a government is not to drive hard the people at will but to cooperate with them.

Secondly, you have not cared to get a deep knowledge of our history. Our people have long failed to

develop regularly. Constantly plagued by harsh politics, they are dwarfed mentally. Therefore, in order to create a new history with this people it is essential to heighten their spirits. This is just a new history. Nevertheless, you bound and lashed them hard only, instead of bolstering their morale and spirits. The mood of corruption and distrust is rife because the free road of creation is blocked up for the people. More important than wealth is a thinking that I'm a human being and I live in this country. There can be a new history only when a bold, new idea is set forth by the people. Nevertheless, you have crushed every new idea in the bud, let alone reviving those bundled and wilted long ago. So you have made a gross blunder in your personnel work. You have been all along attended only by avaricious and cunning elements, not by any man of keen intelligence and noble character.

Just think back on the past. Who is left now out of your old associates? What become of those who had been faithful to you? Has there been anyone who risked his life and kindly advised you when you were in trouble? If any, Heaven may know him. You are all alone. It is hardly possible to run a government single-handed. A real statesman exploits the wisdom and strength of his people.

Thirdly, you are ignorant of the trend of world history. There's no need to explain this fully. The present international position of our country accounts for it.

Lastly you misunderstand religion. Man is a mental being. He can in no way be satisfied with the sup-

ply of materials alone. You were mistaken in thinking that everything would be all right if you ruled roughly over the people, slighting them. The method you have employed up to this date to win popularity is of getting the people to believe in graft and power only. And you have made very little of the resistance of the religious conscience. You think that the establishment of some recreation facilities for the ignorant people would be enough to stave off the criticism and resistance of intellectuals and men of sense. This has brought a terrible misfortune upon you and the country. But what you should clearly know is that resistance is offered not by men themselves but by the heavenly truth in them. Human history knows none of powers which have not been crushed to pieces in face of this resistance.

RETIRE WITH RESPONSIBILITY!

South Korea is now the focus of the world's attention. But neither you nor our people are wholly accountable for this. It is a motion of the conscience of the whole humanity which rules over itself and a warning of the eternal principle which watches the evolution of the universe. It must never be taken indifferently. Correction of a fault is a bliss, and the only way of correction lies in bearing the responsibility for that fault with the whole heart.

You are now in a position of exercising the sovereign power of the people. Since you snatched it by force for yourself when we didn't leave it to you,

you must not be stingy of bearing the responsibility. We acknowledge your righteous indignation at the time of the May 16 coup. If you really want to see the people's happiness and country's eternal future, you must retire from office by yourself now and give the people chance to fulfil their duty of turning a misfortune into a blessing in peace. If you do so, both the country and you will greet a happy day. But if you fail to, the rigorous law of history will not remain still but bring a crushing misfortune on you and the country. We wish that would never happen.

March 1, 1977

(From a dispatch of *Kyodo Press* dated
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No. 997



"Pak Jung Hi, resign!" "Release the arrested students at once!" shout south Korean students holding a street demonstration



South Korean students are staging a demonstration against the fascist terror rule of the Pak Jung Hi puppet clique

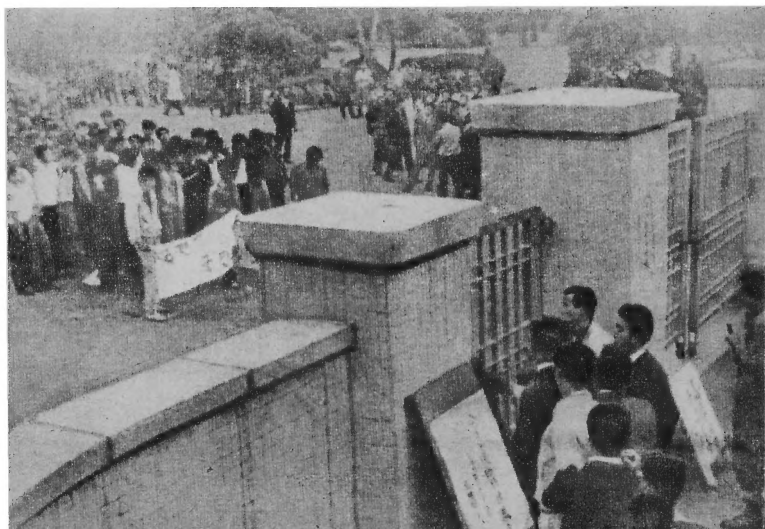
A head-on clash between the demonstrating south Korean people and the puppet riot police



Students and teachers in south Korea are fighting to defend the campus freedom against the white terror



South Korean students are demanding the democratization of the campus





Young female workers in south Korea are adopting a "Declaration of Rights of Workers" in protest against the Pak Jung Hi fascist clique's infringement upon people's rights





**South Korean women, too, have
risen up in struggle**

**Members of the Journalists' Society in
south Korea waging a struggle in de-
mand of the freedom of the press**





Personages of nongovernment parties are fighting against the "revitalized dictatorial system" of the Pak Jung Hi fascist clique

Wives of the imprisoned, too, are demonstrating against the fascist repression by the Pak Jung Hi puppet clique

